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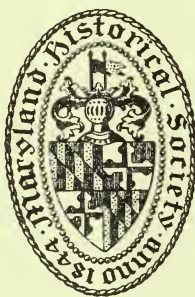




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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



VOLUME XL

BALTIMORE

1945

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XL

MARCH, 1945

No. 1

THE USE OF ROCKETS BY THE BRITISH IN THE WAR OF 1812

By RALPH ROBINSON

It is well known that rockets employing the jet system of propulsion were used as weapons of offense by the British in the War of 1812, and it has been suggested that some account of their construction and the uses to which they were put may prove of interest at this time when the re-introduction into warfare by the Germans of similar weapons has made news.

The missiles used in the War of 1812 were designed by Sir William Congreve (1772-1828), a Major General of the British Army and were known as "Congreve Rockets." In appearance they were not unlike those used in a 4th of July display of fireworks and were adapted for operation both on land and on vessels. There were two types, the case-shot rocket employed as a substitute for artillery or auxiliary thereto, and the rocket loaded with inflammable material designed to start conflagrations.

The case-shot rocket contained carbine balls, the bursting powder being in a cylindrical chamber in the rear of the charge of balls, the explosion of which was regulated by a fuse. Those used with infantry weighed from three to twelve pounds and were fired from a position prone upon the ground and also from a stand fashioned like a tripod upon which they could be adjusted at any pitch. From vessels they could be fired from the deck, from the rigging and from openings in the gunwales or hulls

made especially for their use. Because of the absence of recoil, they were adapted to use on very light vessels and even by boats under oars.

Case-rockets exploded like shrapnel and their effective range was put at 3,000 yards which exceeded that of field artillery using solid shot and canister. Their penetration in a solid bank of earth is given as about 20 feet.¹

The first experience of our armed forces with Congreve rockets was in the Chesapeake Bay area, where they were used by Rear Admiral Cockburn in his marauding expeditions, of which there are several recorded instances. On his staff a young officer was serving in the rank of Lieutenant, who later in life as Sir James Scott wrote the following account of an attack on a shore battery by boats under oars.

The slide, on which they [the rockets] were laid, contained two of these destructive missiles carrying special shells, instead of combustible material. By good luck (for they are an uncertain weapon) in the first flight I let off, one of them fell directly into the block-house and the other alighted in one of the batteries under it. Waving to the remainder of the boats, our gallant leader [Cockburn] headed the attack and got possession of the batteries before the enemy could recover from the panic occasioned by the rockets.²

The redoubtable Commodore Joshua Barney also records their use against his fleet of barges which later were ingloriously destroyed to prevent capture by the British. In an encounter with some of the enemy's vessels near the mouth of the Patuxent he wrote:

During the firing the enemy advanced a barge which threw rockets but as they cannot be directed with any certainty, they did no execution. But I find they can be thrown further than we can our shot and conclude from this essay, this will be their mode of warfare against the [our] flotilla.³

¹ The information here furnished as to Congreve Rockets is taken from a work with illustrations by Sir William Congreve entitled *Treatise on the Congreve Rocket System* (London, 1827), to be seen in the Library of the War College, Washington, D. C. Here also will be found MS notes by Lieutenant Miner Knowlton, one time instructor of artillery at West Point, furnishing, such information about rockets as then understood and also a work by J. Scoffern, *Projectile Weapons of War* (London, 1856). Niles' *Weekly Register* claims rockets did not originate with Sir William Congreve, that they "were used in India before his great-grandfather" (X, 212).

² Sir James Scott, *Recollections of a Naval Life* (London, 1834), III, 262.

³ Barney to Secretary of the Navy, June 3, 1814. T. H. Palmer, ed., *Historical Register*, IV, Part II, 118.

Shortly after this when Barney had taken refuge in St. Leonard's Creek which makes in from the eastern shore of the Patuxent River in Calvert County, he was repeatedly attacked by the British who had two frigates moored at its mouth.

One of the enemy's rockets, [he says] fell on board of one of our barges and after passing through one of the men, set the barge on fire and a barrel of gun-powder, and another of musket cartridges caught fire and exploded by which several of the men were blown into the water and one man very severely burned—his face, hands and every uncovered part of his body being perfectly crisped.⁴

Abandoned by her crew and with the magazines on fire the barge was gallantly boarded by the Commodore's son, Major William B. Barney, and saved from destruction.

From Colonel Deceius Wadsworth who had been sent from Washington with a battery of artillery to relieve Barney we learn that "one of the enemy's rockets passed through an ammunition box which had been injudiciously placed and exploded, which did some damage. An ammunition cart near it was covered with fire but fortunately did not explode."⁵

The employment of rockets in the War of 1812 most familiar to Americans, was by the British infantry in the battle of Bladensburg, fought on the 24th day of August, in which they were substituted for artillery. Of the latter arm the British had but one six-pounder and two three-pounders (dragged by sailors), which apparently never got into action.⁶

The centre of the first line of the American Army facing the British as they rushed across the Bladensburg Bridge, was occupied by General Stansbury's Baltimore Militia wholly without combat experience. "The rockets," we are told "which had for the first three or four passed very high above the heads of the line, now received a more horizontal direction and passed very close to the heads of Schulz' and Regan's Regiments . . . A universal flight of these two regiments was the consequence."⁷

⁴ Mary Barney, *Biographical Memoir of the Late Commodore Barney* (Boston, 1832), p. 239. See also Hulbert Footner, *Sailor of Fortune* (N. Y., 1940), p. 271-2.

⁵ Report to Secretary of War, June 26th, Palmer, *Historical Register*, *loc. cit.*, p. 122.

⁶ So Cockburn reported. Palmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 144.

⁷ General William H. Winder, "Statement to Congressional Committee." *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, I, 558.

Brave and strenuous efforts were made by these officers to reform their men and, although a few responded, the majority continued in flight. Shortly after this the 5th Baltimore Regiment became confused, when ordered to change its position on the left flank of Stansbury's troops, and broke and fled, followed by the remaining troops that had faced the enemy as the first line of defense.⁸

While it is true that the American troops were under musketry fire from the beginning of the action, the initial break was the work of the rockets and there appears to be no reason to doubt that it undermined their steadiness.⁹

Nor is the fact that these raw troops were stampeded by the rockets as discreditable as it has been generally considered, for it is reported that in the battle of Leipzig Napoleon's troops were assailed with Congreve rockets and that "their noise and bright glare" had great effect in frightening them and throwing them into confusion, and in the Peninsular War their use by the British caused "terror by their novelty."¹⁰

The use of rockets in the War of 1812 also has been made familiar by the line in our National Anthem:

And the rocket's red glare, the bomb bursting in air.

The rockets Francis Scott Key saw were fired from the *Erebus*, a ship especially fitted for such use, and one of the squadron engaged in bombarding Fort McHenry. Whether these rockets were case-shot or incendiary does not appear and it is doubtful if the *Erebus* was close enough to the Fort for them to be effective. No mention of their reaching it was made by Major Armistead in his report, whereas he did mention the bombs, of which some 400 fell

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ The effectiveness of the rockets at Bladensburg is attested by Rear Admiral Cockburn and also by Gleig. Cockburn in his report to Admiral Cochrane says "I remarked with much pleasure the precision with which the rockets were thrown—Palmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. "A corps of rockets proved of striking utility," G. R. Gleig, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans*. (London, 1826), p. 126. A misleading misconception of the rockets used at Bladensburg appeared in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* on January 9, 1939. It was supplied, together with a cartoon, by John Hix, at that time running a daily "Believe It or Not" feature. Hix claimed that the American troops fled in wild disorder when "sky-rockets" were fired at them which "They believed to be some devilish new instrument of War."

¹⁰ *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, 934.

"within the works" from the five "bomb-ketches," as the vessels from which they were fired, were called.¹¹

Rockets were also used by the British in the battle of North Point but as they were well supplied in that engagement with artillery, some of which is said to have used shrapnel,¹² rockets appear to have played a minor role. General Stricker speaks of their use against his left flank, but on this occasion the militia, which included troops that had fought at Bladensburg were not stampeded by them, although it was the left flank that proved unsteady and gave way.¹³

The weakness of Congreve rockets was their inaccuracy. This inherent fault, together with the improvement in artillery, led to their disuse.

The propriety of using rockets in warfare was questioned and found expression in the following paragraph which appeared in Niles' *Weekly Register* in August, 1814.

CONGREVE ROCKETS—The property and composition of these instruments is ascertained. If required, *we* also can have them made. But—would it not be *cruel* to use them? If the torpedo, in the water, was an 'unfair' weapon, are not rockets in the air improper to be used by a 'moral and religious people?'¹⁴

In Boston a proposal for use of the new arm appeared in print but no action appears to have been taken:

ROCKET BATTERY—*From the Boston Gazette*—A correspondent would beg leave to suggest to the committee of defence the utility of erecting a *rocket battery* on either forts Warren or Independence.—By means of a recent invention, rockets from one to thirty-two pounds, or larger if necessary, may be fired with as much accuracy as ordnance; and possessing a quality equally destructive as shells, they may be made a powerful weapon of annoyance to the enemy's vessels, should they attempt to come within their reach—and it is said they can be thrown two miles and upwards. We understand Mr. Beath has expressed a willingness, not only to superintend the making of these rockets, of which it is believed he has a perfect knowledge, but also to be stationed at the battery, in case of attack.¹⁵

¹¹ Armistead's Report to Secretary of the Navy. Palmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 199.

¹² Gleig, *op. cit.*, p. 181. The shrapnel shell was a recent invention of Major-General Henry Shrapnel (1761-1842) a British officer. It was quite as new to the American troops as rockets and far more deadly. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVIII, 163.

¹³ Stricker's report to Major General Samuel Smith. Palmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 191.

¹⁴ Vol. VI, p. 425 (August 20, 1814).

¹⁵ Niles, *Weekly Register*, VII, 55 (Oct. 6, 1814).

A similar objection to the use of the torpedo as a weapon of offense has doubtless been forgotten by many who today are habituated to its unrestricted use, both under water and in the air.

A submarine torpedo was designed and patented by Robert Fulton of steamboat fame in the first decade of the nineteenth century. His efforts to get, first, the British Admiralty and, later, our Government to use them were unsuccessful. The objection chiefly urged was that as an instrument of warfare they were inhuman.¹⁶

This attitude was attested when a sub-marine device for destroying ships in the Potomac River was submitted *anonymously* to General William H. Winder in command of the defences of Washington.¹⁷

The failure to make use of torpedoes by the Madison Administration in the War of 1812 was ascribed to the activities of the so-called "Peace Party" by the *The Aurora* a strong Administration paper published in Philadelphia which compared their use with that of rockets in this paragraph:

We would respectfully solicit the *pious men* to explain the difference between waging war with submarine machines and with *aerial* destructive weapons—fighting under water or fighting in the air? The British too cowardly to meet us on shore (except when they are certain of finding little or no opposition) like men and soldiers send us *Congreve rockets* to burn out towns and habitations. We in turn dispatch some of our torpedoes to rub the copper off the bottom of their ships.¹⁸

Banning the use of rockets as "unfair" and the use of torpedoes as "inhuman" appears today not only essentially unrealistic but a bit whimsical. It stems of course from a conception of war as one of the major sports—a conception which modern weapons of offense and defense have rudely shattered.

¹⁶ Those interested in Fulton's efforts to get his torpedo adopted in the United States may consult his *Torpedo and Submarine Explosion* (N. Y., 1810; Reprint by William Abbatt, 1914). Enoch Pratt Library. See also B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812* (N. Y., 1868), p. 238-40, for an account of Fulton's efforts to get his torpedoes used by the British Admiralty.

¹⁷ Lossing, *op. cit.*, p. 939-40, where an illustration of the submarine device will be found taken from the original drawing in the Winder MSS.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 693, note 2, where also will be found an account of the attempt to destroy *The Plantagenet*, a ship of the British Navy by a submarine device.

CIVILIAN DEFENSE IN BALTIMORE, 1814-1815

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE AND SAFETY

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIX, page 309, December, 1944)

The relations of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety and the press were cordial. Newspaper support of the efforts to provide proper defense for the city was encouraged by a resolution praising the good sense and patriotism of the editors. At one point, all papers, local and out-of-state, were urged to print official news only—this in an attempt to eliminate exaggerated reports and rumors which might cause panic or hinder the war work.

A climax in the affairs of the Committee was reached on October 19th, when General Samuel Smith resigned his command and became—in the language of the minutes—plain “Mr. Smith.” At the same time, word was received of the intended visit of General Winfield Scott, and a subcommittee headed by Col. Howard was directed to procure and furnish a house suitable for occupancy by the General and his suite. General Scott surveyed the situation and drew up plans for the erection of additional fortifications, especially to the south and west of the city, in the Ferry Branch section.

Thereafter, the time of the Committee was consumed largely by appeals for workers, acceptances of offers from various militia units to spend a day or more on the fortifications, appointments of superintendents to oversee the laborers, and assignments of men to certain areas at designated times. That volunteers were encouraged and sustained by something more than patriotism is shown by the references to liquor, ranked by the Committee on an equality with the tools used on the earthworks.

Although work on the fortifications was continued, there were signs that the tension in Baltimore was easing up a bit. In mid-October, preparations were made for the sale of surplus supplies contributed to the Committee, some of which were classified as "unmerchtable." There were no more arrests of aliens or defeatist talkers, hospital matters dropped out of the picture, and the urgent tone of the Committee meetings was relaxed.

Baltimore 4th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—The proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed by letters from Capt. Samuel Moales,¹⁴⁰ from the Baltimore Beneficial Society and from Capt. Henry Thompson¹⁴¹ that the companies under their commands and the society offered their services to labour one day on the works of Defence erecting about our city—therefore—

Ordered That the services of the said companies & Society be accepted and that the secretary be charged to present the thanks of this Committee to each by a Letter addressed to each—

The Committee were informed that the Company of Exempts under the command of Capt. Thomas C. Jenkins offered their services to perform one days labour on the works of Defence—therefore

Ordered, That the services of Capt. Jenkins Company be accepted and the thanks of this Committee be presented to him and his company by our Chairman—

Ordered, That the following expression of the sense of this committee be published in the several News Papers of this City with a list of those military or other associations who have or may hereafter tender their services to labour on the works of Defence also designating the days of labour which have been or may be assigned to each by themselves or by this board—to wit—

"The Committee of Vigilance & Safety take this method of making public the grateful sense they feel for the generous and patriotic services of the following military and other associations who have laboured or tendered their services to labour on the Works of Defence about our City—"

The Committee through their Chairman received a Letter from Capt. Isaac Phillips informing them that the Fortifications at Camp Lookout were nearly finished and that it would not be in his power to give his services as a superintendent longer than Saturday next—therefore

Ordered, That the Chairman present the thanks of this Committee to Capt. Phillips for his services; and that the members of this committee

¹⁴⁰ Samuel Moale (1771-1857), attorney, 7 N. Gay St.

¹⁴¹ Henry Thompson (1774-1837), merchant, 53 Smith's Wharf.

who have been appointed to superintend the labourers in the western part of the City provide a suitable person as a successor to Capt. Phillips—

Whereas, two Neutral Vessels being advertised to depart the Port by permission of British authority and as those Vessels are owned by Allies of Great Britain: the owners and Commanders of the same being no way interested in the general welfare of our Country—And in order to prevent the departure of such Vessels it may require the interposition of the Military Authority—And it being the opinion of this committee that, it is highly improper that Vessels be permitted to depart, the owners or Commanders of which may thereby have it in their power to give information to the Enemy that may militate very much to our injury—therefore—

Resolved, That the Chairman of this Committee wait on the Major General and request that such steps be pursued to prevent the departure of the Vessels as in his judgment he may deem proper on the occasion—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 5th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That the communication of the Major General of this date be and the same is hereby referred to Mr. William Wilson, Mr. Payson, Mr. Walters, Mr. Jessup, and Mr. Burke to consider of the same and Report to this Committee—

The Committee were informed by Capt. John Montgomery¹⁴² that the Company under his Command offered their services to labour on the works of Defence about our City for one day when required—wherefor it was

Ordered That the services of Capt. Montgomery's company be accepted and that he be pleased to accept for himself and present to his company the thanks of this Committee for their generous offer—

The Chairman of this Committee having been appointed to wait on Col: Armstead and confer with him on all matters relative to the situation of Fort McHenry, and having done so, and reported to this Committee an elaborate account of many important improvements and additions necessary to be erected—therefore

Resolved, That the Chairman be and he is hereby requested to wait on Maj: Genl. Smith and detail to him a full statement of the views and opinions as suggested by Col: Armstead as absolutely necessary for the further defence of the City and to request of the Major General, after having given the report an examination, that he will assign an Engineer to take charge of the work and that his requisition to complete the same will be respected by this committee—

The Committee then adjourned

Baltimore 6th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee were informed that the 39th 27th and 51st Regiments

¹⁴² John Montgomery (1764-1828), 37 Fayette St.—mayor, 1820-22, 1824-26.

and the Companies under the command of Capt. Richard B. Magruder,¹⁴³ and Capt. John Hanna¹⁴⁴ tendered their services to perform a days labour on the works of Defence erecting about our City, where required—therefore—

Ordered That the services of those Regiments & Companies be accepted and the thanks of this Committee presented to each of them—and also that the superintendants of labourers apprise the commanders thereof in due time when a Regiment, Battalion or Company may be wanted—

Resolved, That the Commissary of Purchases be and he is hereby authorised and requested to purchase on the faith and credit of this committee two thousand pair of shoes to be distributed among the men of Genl. Stansburys Brigade and that he take receipts on behalf of this committee, from the men to whom they may be delivered—

Ordered, That the Committee on Gun Carriages suspend the procuring of trucks for the Guns of Fort Camp look out—

Resolved, That Mr. Warner, Mr. Jessup and Mr. Jamison be and they are hereby requested as soon as possible to erect three bomb proof Magazines and two bomb proof barracks at Fort McHenry, agreeable to the requisition of the Major General of this date—

Ordered, That the Committee, heretofore appointed to cause a Bridge to be erected over the Basin be and they are hereby requested to consult with the Major General on the propriety and practicability of removing the present Bridge to a more suitable place and also of erecting one at the Lazaretto—

Resolved, That the Collector of the Port of Baltimore be and he is hereby respectfully requested to cause all persons coming in vessels that may enter this Port during the present time of danger to be carefully and strictly examined, and a Report thereof to be made every day to this Committee—

The sub-committee to whom the communication from Maj. Genl. Smith was referred—

Report, That the sum of Fifty thousand dollars can be obtained for Treasury Notes from the Banks, for the purpose of paying the wages now due to the Militia and to prevent the same from being discharged—

Which Report was read, approved of, and a copy thereof ordered to be laid before the Major General—

Ordered, That the following advertisement be inserted in the News papers of this City—to wit—"The Committee having been informed that there is a great want of Carts to assist in carrying on the works of Defence erecting at Camp look out Hill do therefor respectfully and earnestly request that all persons having a Cart and Horse not otherwise engaged, would send the same to that Fortification to be employed as the superintendant of the labourers may direct"—

The Committee then adjourned—

¹⁴³ Richard B. Magruder (1787-1844), attorney, 53 S. Charles St.

¹⁴⁴ John Hanna (d. 1829), accountant, 10 Pitt St.

Baltimore 7th Octo: 1814

The committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed that a detachment from Col. Shutes Regiment of Militia had performed a days labour on the works of Defence erecting about our City: and that the Troop of Horse under the Command of Capt. James Horton ¹⁴⁵ tendered their services to perform a days labour thereon—

Ordered That the thanks of this committee be presented to the said Detachment and Troop and that the superintendants inform Capt. Horton when his troop may be wanted—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 8th Octo. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That Mr. Stouffer and Mr. Bond be and they are hereby appointed to engage fifty axmen, provided with three days provisions to meet Genl. Stricker at the Meeting House in Patapsco Neck on Monday morning next at 8 o'clock—pursuant to the Requisition of the Major General of this date—

Resolved, That the communication of the Secretary of War of the 7th instant, to the subcommittee appointed by this committee to wait on the Executive of the United States be and the same is hereby referred to Mr. Payson, Mr. Hollingsworth, Mr. Frisby, Col. Howard and Mr. Buchanan with a request that they will consider thereof and report to this committee such measures as they may deem most advisable to be adopted—

The Committee then adjourned to Monday 10 O'clock A. M

Baltimore 10th Octo. 1814

The committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment; the proceedings of Saturday were read—

The committee were informed that Major Beale Randals ¹⁴⁶ Rifle Corps had gratuitously performed one days labour on the works of Defence; that Capt. Thomas Shrivvers company of Riflemen were then engaged in doing a days work on the same; and that Mr. Louis Barneys ¹⁴⁷ Company of Bakers had tendered their services for one day when called on—therefore

Ordered That the thanks of this committee be presented to the said Military Corps and Company of Bakers; that the superintendants of the labourers inform Mr. Barney when his Bakers may be wanted: And that the following be inserted in the News Papers of this City to wit—
“The Committee of Vigilance and Safety Notice with great pleasure,

¹⁴⁵ James Horton (d. 1837), merchant, Baltimore nr. Paca St.

¹⁴⁶ Beale Randall (d. 1853).

¹⁴⁷ Louis Barney (d. 1850), biscuit maker, 64 South St.

the patriotic offer of labour tendered and performed this day on the Fortifications by Capt. Shrivvers Company of Riflemen from York Pennsylvania"—¹⁴⁸

Resolved, That Mr. James Wilson, Mr. Burke and Mr. Jamison be and they are hereby requested to repair to Fort McHenry and communicate with Capt. Evans the present commander thereof respecting the Gun Carriages in that Fortification and make report to this Committee—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 11th October 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Mr. James Wilson from the committee appointed to visit Fort McHenry made report as follows—

The committee appointed to examine the gun carriages at Fort McHenry have performed that duty and beg leave to Report that they found twenty three of the guns mounted on Burbeck carriages, which in the opinion of your Committee and in which opinion Capt. Evans coincides, are much better calculated for shew than for service, as was experienced in the late bombardment, when from the firing of a few shot three of the guns were dismounted and rendered useless for some time. To make them serviceable and safe, wooden wheels ought to be substituted for the cast iron wheels, and trucks with an axle tree fixed in place of the trail wheel—It is estimated that the cost of this alteration will be about sixty dollars pr. gun—All which is respectfully submitted—

Which report was read, approved and a copy thereof ordered to be submitted to the consideration of the Major General—

Resolved, That Col. Howard be and he is hereby authorised and requested to wait on Capt. Phillips and have such trucks made for the Guns at Fort Camp look out as they may deem most suitable; under the direction of the Major General—

The Committee were informed that the Franklin Artillery Company commanded by Capt. Joseph Myers tendered their services to perform one days labour on the works of defence when called upon—therefore

Ordered, That the thanks of this committee be presented to Capt. Myers Company and that the superintendants of labourers inform him when the services of his company will be received

Mr. Payson from the committee to whom was referred the communication of the Secretary of War of the 7th instant made Report That they

¹⁴⁸ Notice appeared in the *American* of October 11th. Issues of the four days preceding carried an item which showed how some out-of-town companies occupied their time: "BALTIMORE RIFLEMEN, Take Notice! Whether you be *Yagers* or not I do not know. We are strangers in this place and known by the name of the *Lancaster Riflemen* or *Hamilton's Riflemen*, from Pennsylvania. You have frequently made your boast of *Sharp Shooting*: you have likewise said that you had a shooting match with us on Saturday last, which is known to be unfounded. We as men, not fond of boasting, will shoot with you, from 100 to 150 yards, off hand, from 50 to \$500. DANIEL M'KENZIE, Sergeant."

had considered of the same and digested and described the measures most proper for this committee to adopt in the following form of Letter to the Secretary of War from this Committee in reply to his of the 7th instant—which they recommended to be signed by the Chairman & forwarded immediately—to wit—

“ To the Honorable James Monroe Secretary of War—

Sir The Committee of Vigilance and Safety have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter under date of the 7th Current in answer to the Memorial which their Sub-Committee, had the honour to present, to the President of the United States; they do not deem it necessary in this reply, to take into consideration that part which relates to the Forces intended for the future security of the City, trusting as they do ‘ that every effort which can, shall be made for its defence ’—

The Committee having made application to the different Banks for the means, to enable them to place at the disposal, of the Government, the Fund mentioned in their memorial, to the President, have now to inform, that they are ready to pay for as much stock bearing an interest of six per cent and at the rate of eighty dollars in money for one hundred dollars in stock, as will be produced by the investment of four hundred and ninety four thousand dollars and to receive Treasury Notes to the amount of one hundred and nineteen thousand dollars to be paid in money at par—

The Committee offer these sums to the Government with the understanding mentioned in your Letter, that the same is to be applied, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to the payment of the expenses incurred, or to be incurred in the defence of the City of Baltimore; and as the Committee, being the appointed agents of the City and Precincts have in their preparations to receive and repel the Enemy become guarantees for the payment of various sums of money, to a considerable amount, which since that period has been constantly added to, in providing further and more effectual means of assistance; and as the Committee are without the funds to discharge those demands, they respectfully request that immediate means may be adopted, to have the accounts of these expenditures examined, by an officer or officers stationed in Baltimore, especially appointed for that purpose, and under such rules and regulations as you may prescribe, that the same may be liquidated and paid, as promptly as the claimants have a right to expect: and the Committee have full confidence, that under the existing laws, which govern the proceedings of the Department of War in the adjusting these claims and demands they will be considered, as having been necessarily incurred, and have not failed to have a salutary effect for all the purposes for which they were intended, and that in sanctioning them a liberal construction of the Laws, and the rules of expounding them will be adopted by the Government as well in regard to what was demanded by the past, as to secure the future—

The Committee are ready to place the proposed loan to the credit of the United States in such Bank or Banks as the proper Department may direct, and hereunto subjoin a list of the Banks in which the sum is at present deposited”—

A List of the Banks in Baltimore in which money is deposited by the Committee of Vigilance and Safety as mentioned in the forgoing Letter—to wit—

The City Bank	\$320,000
The Union Bank	100,000
The Marine Bank	14,000
The Mechanics Bank	35,000
The Franklin Bank	25,000
<hr/>	
Amount on Loan for Stock	\$494,000
<hr/>	
The Bank of Baltimore	70,000
The Bank of Maryland	21,000
The Commercial & Farmers Bank	28,000
<hr/>	
Amount on Treasury Notes	\$119,000
<hr/>	
Total	\$613,000
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Which letter was read, approved of, and ordered to be copied fair, signed by the Chairman and forwarded immediately

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 12th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed that the Companies under the command of Capt. Hackney and Capt. Shawin of Frederick County had performed a days work on the Fortifications erecting about the City—therefore

Ordered That the thanks of this Committee be presented to each of those Companies for their patriotic services—

The Managers of the Baltimore Theatre offered to this Committee the profits of a nights performance at the Theatre in aid of the fund for the defence of the City, therefore—

Ordered That the thanks of the committee be presented to the Managers and that they be informed that the proffered benefit will be acceptable on Friday next as proposed—

Resolved, That the Committee of Accounts be and they are hereby authorised and required to employ a Clerk at the expense of this Committee for the purpose of aiding them in adjusting, keeping and settling the Accounts of this Committee—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 13 Octo. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee were informed that the 5th Regiment of the M. M.

under the Command of Col. Joseph Sterrett ¹⁴⁹ tendered their services to perform one days labour on the works of Defence and also that the Eagle Company of Exempts under the Command of Capt. Joseph Jamison offered their services for any one day in each Week for three weeks successively to labour on the works and also that Mr. William Branson, ¹⁵⁰ hatter offered the loan of his Cart Horse & driver to be employed one week on the Fortifications whereupon it was

Ordered That the thanks of this Committee be presented to the 5th Regiment, to the Eagle Company of exempts and to Mr. Branson and that they be informed by the superintendants when their aid will be received—

Resolved, That the Committee of Accounts be and they are hereby instructed to pay no accounts or claims against the United States, and for which this Committee is guarantee, out of the funds of this Committee until they shall hear from Government or until further order—

The Committee will publish on the first of November next an alphabetical list of subscribers to the contribution offered for the defence of the city and Precincts of Baltimore and request all such as do not find their names therein to call at the Mayors office to subscribe thereto in money only at which place the Contribution Book will remain deposited—

Ordered That the foregoing declaration be published in the different News papers of the City daily until the first of November next—

Resolved, That, Mr. Stouffer, Mr. Alricks & Mr. Dugan be and they are hereby required to ascertain what articles of merchandise, which have been subscribed to the Committee were at the time of subscribing unmerchable, and to return the same to the subscribers; that they also sell on account of the Committee such articles as have become unmerchable since their delivery to the Committee—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 14th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee were informed that the Troop of Horse under the Command of Capt. Jehu Bouldin ¹⁵¹ offered their services to perform a days work on the Fortifications—Whereupon it was

Ordered That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Capt. Bouldins Troop, that their services be accepted, and that the superintendants of the Labourers inform Capt. Bouldin when his Company's services will be required—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 15th Octo. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

¹⁴⁹ Joseph Sterett (1771-1821), merchant, 51 Water St., dw. Gay nr. Water St.
"M. M." apparently means Maryland Militia.

¹⁵⁰ William Branson, hatter, 131 Baltimore St.

¹⁵¹ Jehu Bouldin, surveyor, Plowman St.

Resolved, That Col. Howard, Mr. Payson and Capt. Phillips be and they are hereby required to have trucks made for the gun Carriages at Fort Camp look out pursuant to the requisition of the Major General bearing date on the 17th instant & this day received

The committee received a Communication from the Committee of Defence of Philadelphia requesting a reciprocation of information respecting the movements of the Enemy or any other matter deemed of importance to the general welfare—whereupon it was—

Ordered, That the Chairman and Secretary be a committee of correspondence for the purpose of interchanging information as requested—

The Committee received a Petition from the workmen employed on the Gun Carriages making for the Defence of the City, praying for payment of their wages; whereupon

Ordered, That Mr. David Burke be and he is hereby authorised and requested to advance to the Petitioners sixty dollars on account, which shall be refunded to him by this Committee—

The Committee then adjourned to Monday 10 O'clock A. M.

Baltimore 17th Octo. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee were informed that Mr. Peter Snyder ¹⁵² offered the services of his Cart, Horse & Driver to labour four or five days on the works of Defence: and that the Company of Exempts under the command of Capt. Mackenheimer also tendered their services to perform one days labour on the Fortifications—whereupon it was—

Ordered, That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Mr. Snyder and Capt. Mackenheimer's Company; that their services be accepted and that the superintendants of the labourers inform Mr. Snyder & Capt. Mackenheimer when their profered services will be required—

The Committee received a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States which being read—

Ordered, That the same be filed; and that an extract of so much thereof as relates to a schedule shewing the denomination &c of the Treasury Notes to be furnished to this Committee as a security in part for the loan to Government which they have lately effected, be transmitted to the Bank of Baltimore, the Commercial & Farmers Bank and the Bank of Maryland with a request that they would furnish a schedule as required for the amount taken by each of them—

The committee were informed by the committee of accounts that they had appointed Mr. John Gill ¹⁵³ their clerk; and stated the propriety of sending Mr. Gill to Washington for the purpose of procuring information as to the forms of making out accounts and vouchers thereto in the several Departments on which the accounts for the payment of which this

¹⁵² Peter Snyder (d. 1832), baker, N. Calvert St. nr. City Springs.

¹⁵³ John Gill (d. 1849), accountant, 63 Green St.

Committee is guarantee are demandable in order that they may be adjusted and passed—therefore

Resolved, That Mr. Gill be and he is hereby authorised and required to repair to Washington at the expense of this Committee for the purpose of procuring the information required—

Resolved, That the Major General be and he is hereby respectfully requested to cause the Steam Boat to be prevented from leaving the Harbour of this city—

The following Letter in reply to that of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, dated on the 15th instant and received this day was submitted to the consideration of the Committee, to wit—

“To the Honble Alexander J: Dallas

Sir, Inclosed you will receive receipts for three hundred and twenty thousand dollars which was deposited by the Committee in the City Bank of Baltimore before the 10th instant for the use of the Government—

The committee were under the impression that this sum together with the whole amount of the proposed loan to be raised by them was to bear an interest as a loan or on treasury notes so soon as it was placed to the credit of the government and subject to their order after the receipt of the communication from the Secretary of war of the 7th instant by which the negotiation between the Government and the Committee was closed—

With the above exception the Committee have prevailed on those from whom the money has been obtained to receive the stock and the Treasury Notes carrying interest from the days mentioned in your Letter of the 15th instant; but as to the abovementioned sum of \$320,000, the committee are bound to deliver Stock bearing interest from the date of the receipt and they therefore respectfully solicit that it may be issued to them accordingly—

The Certificates for the amount of \$320,000 are to be in sums as stated below and in the name of Edward Johnson Chairman of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety of Baltimore— By tomorrows mail I will transmit such a schedule of the Treasury Bills, as will with the one herein enclosed complete that part of the transaction— ”

Which Letter being read and considered was approvtd and ordered to be signed by the Chairman and forwarded—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 18th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed that Mr. Christopher Hughes ¹⁵⁴ offered the services of himself and ten men to perform a days work on the Fortifications any day after Thursday next—whereupon it was

¹⁵⁴ Christopher Hughes (1745-1825), 17 Forest St. He was the father of the diplomatic agent of the same name.

Ordered, That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Mr. Hughes, that his services be accepted and that the superintendants of the labourers inform him when & where it will be required—

The Committee received a Communication from the Managers of the Theatre inclosing the sum of \$180—the proceeds of one nights performance as heretofore offered to be applied to the Defence of the City—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 19th Octo. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That Col. Howard, Mr. Buchanan, & Mr. Payson be and they are hereby authorised and requested to procure a suitable House and have the same furnished in a proper manner and tender it to General Scott for the use of himself and suite during their stay in this City—and also that they tender to the General the aid and cooperation if this Committee in any way in which the public good can be best promoted—

The committee received a Letter from Mr. Samuel Smith apprising them of the resignation of his Commission of Major General of the Maryland Militia, expressing his thanks to this Committee for their attention &c whereupon it was

Ordered That the same be referred to Mr. Bland, Mr. Etting and Mr. James Wilson to prepare and report an answer thereto—

Mr. Bland from the Committee to whom was referred the Letter from Mr. Smith reported an answer thereto as follows—

“Samuel Smith Esqr.

Dear Sir, The Committee of Vigilance and Safety received your Letter of the 18th instant and acknowledge with pleasure the important services rendered by you to your Country, and more especially to the citizens of Baltimore in the late attack made by the Enemy— The Committee have directed me to express to you their regret at the loss of your services at this important crisis, and all with great sincerity their best wishes for your future health and happiness—

I have the Honor to be Dear Sir

with great respect & esteem Your obt. St.”

Which Letter was read approved of, and ordered to be signed by the Chairman and forwarded—

The Committee then adjourned to 10 O'clock A. M. on Friday next—

Baltimore 21st Octo. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—The proceedings of Friday morning were read—

The following address to the people was read approved of and ordered to be published in the several papers of this city—

"The committee of vigilance and Safety have the satisfaction to inform their fellow citizens that, Major General Scott, commander of the 10th Military District, having so far progressed in causing additional works of Defence to be traced out, that, any labour which they may be willing to contribute towards the completion of such important works may now again be advantageously employed— The Committee are now therefore ready to receive any tenders of labour either from the Military or other citizens who may be willing to volunteer their aid in that way—"

The committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 22d October 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment— The proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee received a Letter from Commodore Barney respecting the desertion and removal of the Flotilla men, and requesting the aid of this committee in preventing them from being enticed from the service— therefore—

Resolved, That Mr Burke and Mr Woelper be and they are hereby requested to have a verbal communication with Commodore Barney and know in what way this Committee can most properly and effectually afford him any aid—and report at their next meeting—

The committee then adjourned to Monday morning 10 O'clock

Baltimore 24th Octo: 1814

The committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment— The proceedings of Saturday were read—

Resolved That Mr. Hollingsworth and Colo Howard be and they are hereby requested to wait on Maj: Genl Watson, Genl Stansbury¹⁵⁵ Genl Foreman¹⁵⁶ and other commanding officers and state to them the great and urgent necessity for labour to complete the works of Defence, and to beg of them to recommend to the troops under their command the propriety and patriotism that would attend the performing of one or more days work on the Fortifications—

The Committee then adjourned to 11 O'Clock tomorrow A. M.—

Baltimore 25th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment— The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Col: Howard from the Committee who were appointed to wait on Maj: Genl Watson and other Commanders of Militia and to request that they would endeavour to prevail on the men under their command to turn out and perform a days work on the Fortifications made report—That a de-

¹⁵⁵ Tobias E. Stansbury (1756-1849).

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Marsh Forman, distinguished officer of both the Revolutionary War and War of 1812.

tachment under the command of Genl. Foreman of about 220 would turn out on Wednesday next that another detachment of about 250 would work on Friday; that the Regiment under the command of Col: Kennedy, that Major Genl Watson and his officers had agreed to detail from the men under his command 500 men for five days when called on and that the men of Genl Stansburys brigade were willing to work in turn and

Ordered That the thanks of this committee be presented to Col: Ragan expect—whereupon

Ordered That the thanks of this committee be presented to Maj: Genl Watson, Genl Foreman and Genl Stansbury and Col: Kennedy and the officers and privates under their command—that their services be accepted and that the superintendents of labourers inform them when and where their services will be required—

The committee were informed that Mr. Henry Fulford¹⁵⁷ tendered the services of ten men to labour on the Fortifications for five days when required—whereupon it was

Ordered That the thanks of this committee be presented to Mr. Fulford; that the services of his men be accepted and that the superintendants of labourers inform him when & where their services will be wanted—

Ordered, That Mr. Stouffer be excused from any further attendance as a superintendent of the labourers in the western Precincts and that Mr. Berry be appointed in his stead—

Resolved, That Mr. Alexander Russel, Mr. William Hawkins,¹⁵⁸ Mr. John Hignet, Mr. William Krebs,¹⁵⁹ Capt Peter Gold and Capt Leonard be and they are hereby respectfully requested to act as superintendants of the Labourers in Western Precincts—and that the Secretary address a Letter to each of those gentlemen informing them of their appointment and the request of this Committee that they would act as such—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 26 Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read

The committee were informed that Col: Ragans¹⁶⁰ Regiment offered their services to labour on the Fortifications for one day when required—Whereupon it was

Ordered That he thanks of this committee be presented to Col: Ragan and the Regiment under this command; that their services be accepted and that the Superintendants of labourers inform them when their services will be required—

Resolved That Mr Robert Fisher¹⁶¹ be and he is hereby respectfully requested to act as a Superintendant of the Labourers engaged on the

¹⁵⁷ Henry Fulford (d. 1841), merchant, St. Paul's Lane.

¹⁵⁸ William Hawkins (1754-1818).

¹⁵⁹ William Krebs, brickmaker, Washington St.

¹⁶⁰ John Ragan.

¹⁶¹ Robert Fisher (1762-1824), lumber merchant, Spear's Wharf, dw. 46 Jones St.

works in the Eastern Precincts; and that the Secretary address a Letter to him acquainting him with the appointment and request him to act as such—

Mr. Stouffer from the Committee who were appointed on the 21st September last to ascertain and adjust the expenditures and disbursements among the Military made a Report which was read, approved and ordered to be filed—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 27th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee were informed that the Regiment under the command of Col: Smith offered their services to perform a days labour on the works of Defence, whereupon it was

Ordered, That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Col: Smith and the Regiment under his command; that their services be accepted and that the Superintendants of the Labourers inform them when & where their services will be required—

Resolved, That the Superintendants of Labourers be and they are hereby authorised and requested to employ overseers and Horses & Carts, for the purpose of directing the labourers in their absence and of taking care of the tools, liquor and other articles belonging to this Committee: and the hire of such Overseers, Horses & Carts shall be paid out of the funds of this Committee

Resolved, That Mr. John Tool,¹⁶² Mr. James Morren,¹⁶³ Mr. Nathaniel Hyson¹⁶⁴ and Mr. Walter Crook¹⁶⁵ be and they are hereby appointed Superintendants of the Labourers in the Eastern Precincts; and that the Secretary by Letter inform them of their appointment—

The Committee received a Communication from Mr Richard Williams¹⁶⁶ proposing an experiment at his own expense, of a Fire Ship of his own invention—whereupon

Ordered, That the Communication be referred to Com: Barney; and that he be respectfully requested to hear and consider of the proposition and determine thereon as he shall think best: and to report to this Committee—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 28th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That the Citizens exempt from military duty, in person or by substitute, and people of colour of Baltimore be and they are hereby

¹⁶² John Tool, sugar refiner, 51 Front St.

¹⁶³ James Morrel, merchant, dw. 22 High St.

¹⁶⁴ Nathaniel Hyson (1771-1833), 76 High St.

¹⁶⁵ Walter Crook (d. 1825), cabinet maker, 47 St. Patrick's Row.

¹⁶⁶ Richard Williams (d. 1823), sea captain, 37 Fleet St.

invited and earnestly requested to volunteer their services for the purpose of erecting the necessary Fortifications, traced out near Ferry Branch, for the defence of the west end of the City in the following manner, to wit—

Those of the Western Precincts to commence on Sunday
the 30th instant—

Those of the first and second wards on Monday the 31st
instant—and

Those of the third, fourth and fifth wards on Tuesday
the 1st November—

The Committee received a Communication from Maj. Genl. Scott inclosing one from Mr. Godfroy¹⁶⁷ the Engineer relative to the works of Defence—whereupon it was

Ordered, That the same be and is hereby referred to the Superintendents of the Labourers in the Eastern Precincts, with the directions of this Committee to comply with the requisitions therein contained—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 29th Octo: 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee were informed that the 39th Regiment commanded by Col: Benjamin Fowler¹⁶⁸ offered their services to perform a days work on the Fortifications, whereupon

Ordered, That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Col: Fowler and the Regiment under his command, that their services be accepted and that the Superintendents of the Labourers inform them when and where their services will be required—

Mr. Woelper from the committee who were appointed to have a communication with Com: Barney and make enquiry relative to the removal or seduction of the Flotilla men from the service of the United States made a Report which was read and ordered to be filed

The Committee then adjourned to 11 O Clock A. M. on Monday next—

Baltimore 31st Octo: 1814

The committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of Saturday were read—

Resolved, That Mr. Stouffer be and he is hereby authorised and requested to employ two Superintendants to aid Capt Babcock in completing the Fort at Camp lookout Hill, which Major General Scott has named Fort Wood, pursuant to the Requisition of the Major General of the 30th instant—

The Committee received a communication from Maj Genl Scott inclos-

¹⁶⁷ Maximilian Godefroy (d. 1824), architect, Hanover St. and German Lane.

¹⁶⁸ Benjamin Fowler (d. 1823), Dulany St., later city collector of Baltimore.

ing one from Mr Godefroy the Engineer respecting the works of Defence—whereupon it was

Ordered, That the same be & is hereby referred to the Superintendants of the Labourers for the Eastern Precincts with a request that they comply with the requisitions therein contained—

Resolved, That Mr. Henry Harrod,¹⁶⁹ Mr. John Deloughry¹⁷⁰ and Mr. George Carnahan¹⁷¹ be and they are hereby appointed superintendants of labourers in the Eastern Precincts and Mr. Samuel Fry a superintendant of those in the Western Precincts; and that the Secretary be and is hereby directed to inform them by letter of their appointment and request that they will undertake the duties thereof—

The following address was moved, read and ordered to be published, to wit—

“The citizens, exempt from military duty, in person or by substitute, and people of colour of Baltimore, are hereby invited and earnestly requested to volunteer their services for the purposes of erecting the necessary fortifications traced out for the defence of the west end of the city, in the following manner to wit—

Those of the Western Precincts on Friday the 4th November
Those of the 1 & 2d Wards on Saturday the 5th November &
Those of the 3d, 4th & 5th Wards on Sunday the 6th
November—”

The following address was then moved, read approved of and ordered to be published, to wit—

“The citizens exempt from military duty in person or by substitute, and people of Colour of Baltimore are invited and hereby earnestly requested to volunteer their services for the purpose of erecting the necessary fortifications, traced out for the defence of the east end of the city in the following manner to wit—

Those of the 6th, 7th & 8th Wards to turn out on Wednesday the 2d November— &

Those of the Eastern Precincts on Thursday the 3d November—”

The Committee then adjourned—

(To be concluded)

¹⁶⁹ Henry Harrod (d. 1861), rigger, 38 Ann St.

¹⁷⁰ John Deloughery (d. 1834), grocer, 24 Pitt St.

¹⁷¹ George Carnahan (d. 1821).

VIGNETTES OF MARYLAND HISTORY

FROM THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTION OF BROADSIDES

By RAPHAEL SEMMES

(Concluded from Vol. XXXIX, page 126, June, 1944)

PART II. POLITICAL AND MILITARY

In Part I, published in the June, 1944, issue of this magazine, broadsides dealing with certain subjects, or topics, were discussed. This article contains a brief description of handbills, or broadsides, which refer to political or military incidents in the history of the City or State. These broadsides constitute by far the largest portion of the Society's collection. As there are over two hundred and fifty of them, it will be impossible in an article of this length to give a detailed description of them all.

The political and military broadsides will be discussed in chronological order, that is, according to periods in the history of the State, such as:

(1) The Colonial and Revolutionary period; (2) From the Revolution to the War of 1812; (3) From the War of 1812 to the Mexican War; (4) From the Mexican War to the Civil War; and finally (5) The Civil War period.

THE COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

For the Colonial period broadsides may be found relating to George and Benedict Leonard Calvert, to John Coode and Josias Fendall and to the burning of Cresap's house in the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute.

Among the items referring to political phases of the Revolutionary period is a copy of the Declaration of Independence, printed in Baltimore in 1777 by Mary Katherine Goddard. This is the first issue of that famous declaration with the names of the

signers. It was printed in pursuance of an Act of Congress passed on January 18, 1777, directing that an authenticated copy of the Declaration of Independence, with the names of the signers, should be sent to each of the thirteen states. Although this was not the first printing of the Declaration, as there had been at least eight before this, it was, however, the first official issue with the names of the signers.¹

Another item of interest in this Revolutionary period is a broadside mentioning some treasonable statements made by a Baltimorean named James Christie. This handbill, dated July 18, 1775, was also printed in Baltimore by Mary Katherine Goddard. In this broadside James Christie lays before the public the action taken by the Committee of Safety in Baltimore on his intercepted letter to his kinsman, Colonel Gabriel Christie, stationed in Antigua in the West Indies, as well as a copy of that letter, in which the political references, James Christie claimed, were not of such a character as to call for drastic action by the Committee. Among the statements which he made were:

We have some violent fanatical spirits among us, who do every thing in their powers to run things to the utmost extremity, and they are gone so far, that we moderate people are under a necessity of uniting for our defence, after being threatened with expulsion, loss of life, &c. for not acceding to what we deem treason and rebellion . . . a part of your, or any other regiment, I believe, would keep us very quiet.²

Only lately the Society acquired an interesting broadside. Published in Baltimore on Nov. 11, 1774, it is signed by "A

¹ In the letter of transmittal sent to the Rhode Island assembly, John Hancock wrote: "As there is not a more distinguished event in the History of America, than the Declaration of her Independence—nor any, that, in all probability, will so much excite the Attention of future Ages, it is highly proper, that the Memory of that Transaction, together with the Causes that gave Rise to it, should be preserved in the most careful manner that can be devised. I am therefore commanded by Congress to transmit you the enclosed Copy of the Acts of Independence, with the List of the several Members of Congress subscribed thereto. . . ." See Joseph Towne Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790* (Baltimore, 1938), p. 85; Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 255.

² For the Revolutionary Period, broadsides may be found in the Society's collection referring to the Boston Port Act of 1774, the Non-Importation agreements, Committees of Observation and Correspondence, Committees and Councils of Safety, the Association of Freemen of Maryland, the Provincial Convention, the Continental Congress, early battles of the Revolution, the treaty between France and the United States, and the Treaty of Paris ending the war between Great Britain and the United States. Information may also be obtained about currency problems and the national debt.

Mechanic" who addressed his remarks to "the Land-holders, Merchants, and Mechanics of Baltimore County and Town." The latter were urged at such a critical time to adopt measures to prevent merchants from taking advantage of the scarcity of goods by selling their wares at more than the usual prices.

There is a broadside printed in 1779 addressed "To the People of Maryland," which urges the necessity of Maryland's joining the Confederation already adopted by ten of the states. Signed by "An American," this broadside mentions some of the sacrifices and concessions made by some of the larger states in order that a union might be possible. For this reason the author asks Maryland to renounce her claims in the disposal of Western lands. This should be noted as it is generally conceded that the refusal of this State to ratify the Confederation until the the Western lands had become the property of all the states, was Maryland's greatest contribution to the United States in this period. For this reason it is interesting to discover that in this broadside this policy is criticized by one of Maryland's own citizens. This subject is discussed by Joseph Towne Wheeler in *The Maryland Press*, 1777-1790.³

There are several broadsides which deal with military phases of the Revolutionary War. They are forms which were used at that time. There is, for example, one of the forms of commissions issued by the Convention and Council of Safety. It is dated June 28, 1776, and was printed in Annapolis by Frederick Green. It was issued in the name of "The Delegates of the Freemen of Maryland in Convention." In this particular form James Kent was appointed a Colonel of a battalion of militia on the Eastern Shore "to compose a part of the Flying Camp."

Another form, dated July 11, 1776, contains the following statement:

We the SUBSCRIBERS do hereby enroll ourselves to serve as Militia of Maryland, in the middle department, that is to say, from this province to New York inclusive, until the first day of December next, unless sooner discharged by the honourable Congress, according to the resolutions of the Convention of Maryland, held at Annapolis the 21st day of June, 1776.

Recently the Society received an important donation. It is a

³ This was printed in Baltimore by Mary Katherine Goddard. Wheeler, p. 92.

form printed in Frederick on Feb. 10, 1778, by Matthias Bartgis, which contains a certification by Christopher Edelen, one of the Justices of the Peace for Frederick county, that Henry McClary (or McClary) had appeared before him and voluntarily taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity as directed by the Act of the State Assembly passed in December 1777.⁴ Accompanying it is the following interesting and informative memorandum written in longhand and dated April 25, 1778:

I hereby Certifie that I have this day received of Henry McClary, of this County [Frederick], one Good Able Bodied Recruit named William Cortney to serve as a Substitute for the said Henry McClary, During the War in the Continental Army, Agreeable to the Act Entituled an Act to procure Troops for the American Army.

Chas. Beatty, Lt.
Frederick County.

In the Society's collection are copies of a form, printed in Annapolis by Frederick Green, which were used in carrying out the provisions of an Act of the General Assembly of Maryland to provide for the collection of blankets. A collector was appointed in every hundred of each county who was given power to requisition one-half of all the blankets belonging to every house-keeper over and above the number ordinarily used by his family during the winter. Provision was made for determining the value of the blankets and for reimbursing the owner. On the verso, or back of the broadside, is a printed form appointing the collector and directing him where to deposit the blankets. The Society has two copies of this form, both dated April 2, 1777. One appoints William Winder, Jr. of Somerset county, collector of blankets in Broad Creek hundred, while the other appoints Colonel Samuel Hanson, of Charles county, to the same office in Port Tobacco West hundred.⁵

⁴ A similar form was printed in Annapolis on Sept. 27, 1777, by Frederick Green. Wheeler, pp. 80, 81.

⁵ A form was used in collecting supplies as provided by the Act of 1782. One printed at Annapolis by Frederick Green is dated May 15, 1782. The articles supplied were entered on the margin and the total value was stated on the receipt. The form which the Society has is for Frederick county in which Thomas Price, commissioner, certifies that he had received from John Myers so many bushels of wheat. Recently the Society acquired a similar form for the same county dated Aug. 12, 1780.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE WAR OF 1812

Many broadsides in this period deal with politics. On Sept. 30, 1788, there was published in Baltimore a broadside addressed "To the Voters of Baltimore-Town." This handbill printed letters which were exchanged between Samuel Chase and David M'Mechen, on the one hand, and James McHenry and John Coulter, on the other. Chase and M'Mechen suggested rules and regulations which should be observed in holding a forthcoming election in order to prevent, if possible, riots. The suggested regulations stated that:

No colours, drums, or fifes to be used by either party; No person shall come to the place of election, or appear in the streets, with any arms, weapon, or stick, or whip, of any kind, etc.

Masters of servants and slaves were requested to keep them at home during election day and captains of vessels were asked to keep sailors from coming ashore on that day. Curiously enough nothing is said about bars or taverns being closed on election day as is the custom today.⁶

Samuel Sterett in a broadside published in Baltimore on Dec. 31, 1788, addressed "To the Public," mentioned the influence of the "Insurance Office" in local politics. Sterett also decried the "mean" attack made on him in circular signed by H. D. Gough, James McHenry, S. Smith, G. Keepports, T. Smith and J. Merryman. In another broadside of a later date, Jan. 6, 1789, addressed "To the Freemen of Baltimore-Town, and the Fourth District," and signed by "Tom Plain Truth," Sterett himself was attacked as a candidate for Congress from the Fourth District of Baltimore. It was asserted that Sterett was opposed to the erection of a Federal Court in Maryland on the ground that it would enforce the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain which contained the clause that all English debts must be paid. Sterett, according to "Tom Plain Truth," whose identity is not disclosed, owed nearly £7,000 in British debts and for this reason was going to use every effort in Congress to prevent the establishment of Federal Courts in Maryland. It was claimed that the people opposed to the establishment of these courts wanted to make payments on

⁶ This was printed in Baltimore by William Goddard.

their British debts into the state treasury in depreciated paper money and then expected the state would make up the deficiency. In this way they would avoid the payment of the entire amount of their debts.

"Tom Plain Truth" stated that others who took the same view as Sterett also were in debt to the British. These included, he said, William Buchanan, Edward Dorsey, two of the Ridgely family, Benjamin Nicholson and several others. "Tom" also maintained that Doctor Goodwin, a nephew of Charles Ridgely, who was indebted to the English, had been especially active in urging votes for Sterett.

Charles Ridgely was himself involved in several controversies. In a broadside, printed in Baltimore in 1774, and entitled "Where are ye All Now?" the author who signed "Bob-Ad-III" asks Mr. Ridgely to resign his candidacy for the Assembly in favor of Robert Alexander. It appears that Ridgely was elected to the Assembly, however, in spite of the opposition of part of his constituency. In another broadside, dated Sept. 7, 1784, addressed "To the Electors of Baltimore City," and signed by Ridgely himself the latter defended himself against charges made against him by Dr. Thomas Cradock. In this broadside Ridgely, who had been a member of the Assembly for sometime, denied that he voted against the supply bills for the army or that he had resigned from the Assembly in order to buy condemned British property.

Ridgely was engaged in still another dispute with Harry Dorsey Gough about a financial transaction between them. This matter is discussed at length in a large broadside, printed on both sides, which Charles Ridgely issued under his signature on Aug. 8, 1787. The handbill is addressed "To Harry Dorsey Gough, Esquire."

Western Maryland, too, was the scene of a political dispute between General Heister (or Hiester) and John Lynn of Allegany county. It was the opinion of Heister, who was running for Congress in 1801, that while the French seizures of American vessels justified war, he thought a declaration of war inexpedient. Lynn claimed that Heister had gone further and stated that the French had grounds for taking ninety-eight out of every hundred ships they had captured from the Americans.

Later, in Cumberland, Lynn published another broadside because he felt "an irrisistible inclination to say a few words

more. . . ." In this he maintained that Heister's reasoning that we should pay tribute to the French by allowing them to seize, without protest, American vessels was wrong, and that "a nation that weighs her purse against her honor never fails to lose both."

Lynn made other accusations against Heister. He claimed that the General favored a post road which would benefit his land and that it was not the high price of produce which hurt the farmers, but the high rents for farms asked by such large landowners as Heister. Prior to this, in another broadside, General Heister had denied that he had taken more than his share of the estate of Jonathan Hager, who was his brother-in-law.⁷

On the Eastern Shore, where politics always played an important part in everyday life, Dr. Ennalls Martin, of Talbot county, was involved in a dispute with Jacob Gibson about whom much has been written. In a broadside, dated Sept. 27, 1803, addressed to Gibson and signed "Peter Calomel," which was a pseudonym, Dr. Martin lamented the fact that such a man as Gibson should be a judge. The doctor claimed that Gibson had sold the husband of a colored slave woman in order that he might have the woman as his mistress. And then, after he had had a child by her, Martin said that Gibson had sold both the child and the mother into slavery. Indeed, said the doctor, Gibson is "a compound of all that is base, infamous and villainous."⁸

David Kerr, of Talbot county, was concerned in a matter which involved Dr. Ennalls Martin, when Kerr, a candidate for Congress, defended his voting to give £800 to Dr. Martin for his services during the Revolution. Kerr, who had been attacked by a man who signed under a pseudonym, said that he would not take any notice of "this wretched billingsgate, and string of falsehoods, coming from a villain who lurks under a feigned signature."⁹

⁷ Three broadsides deal with this controversy, one entitled: "Fellow Citizens of the Fourth District of Maryland," signed by Daniel Heister, Hagerstown, Mar. 23, 1801; and two others both addressed "To General Daniel Heister," one dated Mar. 27, and the other April 8, 1801.

⁸ According to a pencil memorandum on this broadside, the enmity between Gibson and Dr. Martin finally resulted in a street fight in Easton, Maryland. For additional information about Gibson, see Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, 1661-1861* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 415-434; Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1944), pp. 221-222, 240-245, 248, 249, 252, 253.

⁹ The three broadsides covering this subject are all addressed to the voters of Talbot county and all three are signed by David Kerr. They are dated Sept. 1, 1792; Aug. 11, 30, 1803.

Besides his controversy with Dr. Martin, Jacob Gibson was involved in another dispute with Samuel Chamberlaine as is evidenced by a broadside published April 13, 1802, in Talbot county and signed "J. G." This was a controversy about religious sects, including Quakers and Methodists. Gibson wrote that he thought the discussion had been ended because of "the belting you [Chamberlaine] got in our private communications . . . as you appeared to knock under . . . but I find the drubbing only operated on you, like the rough handling of a thorny toad, that swells only to burst and throw its filth on all around."

About ten years later, during the spring of 1813, when the War of 1812 with England was in progress, Jacob Gibson's plantation on Sharps Island on the Chesapeake was plundered by the British, although the latter made payment for the livestock they had confiscated. Because he accepted compensation from the enemy, Gibson was accused of acting treasonably. Gibson criticized the Democrats for giving credence and circulation to this account of his treason which had been started by the Federalists. It showed no gratitude on their part, he said, as he had backed the Democrats in their political campaigns. Gibson maintained that if he was clever enough to make the British pay for his livestock, he should not be criticized for this and added with pride that God had made him able to encounter all difficulties "that I can shine when I please, in a church, a drawing room, a grog shop or a brothel. . . ." ¹⁰

The years from 1808 to 1815 saw the publication of a number of broadsides referring to questions at issue between the Federalists and the Republicans or Democrats. The explanation of this association of the two names of political parties now opposed to each other is that Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and others, although known as "Republicans" or "Democratic-Republicans," were really the founders of what later became known as the Democratic Party. The Republicans or Democrats of the early nineteenth century disapproved of the pro-British policy of the Federalists, and of the latter's condonation of the impressment of American sailors and the confiscation of American property.

¹⁰ This information is contained in a broadside entitled "Federal Treason & Democratic Gratitude," published May 10, 1813. This broadside reprints two letters of Jacob Gibson, one to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States and the other to Levin Winder, Governor of Maryland.

Robert H. Goldsborough, a member of the United States Senate from 1813 to 1819, was criticized for defending the Embargo Act. Republicans objected to the coalition of leading Federalists with Joshua Barney in an attempt to defeat General Samuel Smith. The latter was praised in one broadside for being pro-French. A statement of John Hanson Thomas, then supporting Barney, was produced to show that at one time he considered Barney as "one of the most vile and abandoned men in the world . . . as a man not to be credited."¹¹

One broadside, published in 1810, addressed "To the People," and signed by William Clemm, a Justice of the Peace for Baltimore, produced evidence of bribery at election time and how a Mr. McKim wanted one of Barney's ears cut off. The handbill submitted this question: What chance has a poor man against a rich one who bribes free men "to sell their birthright, their independent suffrages, and then proclaims a reward of \$100,000 to have any man's ears cut off who will dare to speak of this odious corruption?"

In another broadside, published about 1810 or 1811, addressed "To the Honourable—The Congress of the United States," the farmers of Anne Arundel County objected to the Embargo and Non-Importation Acts on the ground that these acts inflicted punishment on Americans for the insults of others. In a broadside (Aug. 1811), entitled "Federal Calumny Refuted," Republicans (Democrats) answer the charge that they are under "French influence." As proof of this letters exchanged between Edward Lloyd and William Pinkney were reprinted. In a similar vein was a handbill dated Sept. 2, 1811, addressed "To the People of Maryland," and another broadside quoting the words of Capt.

¹¹ The following broadsides are in point: "To the Federalists," signed by a "Right Royal Federalist," (1808?); "To the People of Talbot County," signed by "Truth" (Sept. 26, 1808?); "To the good People of Frederick County," (Sept. 18, 1809); "To the People of Maryland," signed by William Lowry and a "Republican Voter" (Aug. 30, 1809). See also "Communications interesting to the Public," 1789, Baltimore. This broadside tells how the voters of Frederick county, who were Federalists, were about to tar and feather a Dr. Cruse, of Baltimore, when he attempted to electioneer in favor of Abraham Faw, had he not escaped during the night.

The significance of a broadside, probably published in 1818 or 1813, and entitled "Pause and Reflect" is not clear. Addressed "To the Citizens of Baltimore" it appears to be a criticism of General George H. Stuart for dismissing some troops. In the handbill which is signed by "A Baltimorean" mention is made of Barney, Stricker, and others.

Don't give up the Ship.



FREEMEN OF MARYLAND,

Cherished for ever be the memory of the gallant hero whose lips pronounced this patriotic sentiment at the moment of dissolution—sacred be the motto his dying words conveyed to his countrymen—on the first Monday of September let this be the watch-word with every Republican—**“DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP.”**

What though such men as Harper say *we must give it up*, that the British doctrine of impressment, which has brought so many Americans to be lashed “with many stripes” at the gang way of an English man of war, “*is right in itself*,” the common sense & feeling of every true American, tells him that he and those who support him are **TORIES** downright **BRITISH TORIES**. In this great struggle which approaches, two obstacles only stand in the way of a glorious triumph. **BIBERY** and the **CORRUPTION OF JUDGES** of **ELECTION**.

To resist the first we must depend, under heaven, on the goodness of our cause and the honest integrity of the *American character*: to expose and defeat the corruption of the Judges, you must rely on your own **VIGILANCE** at the **POLLS**, firmly resolved at **ALL HAZARDS** to have **JUSTICE**.

Every Republican must feel in his heart that he is conscientiously struggling in the hallowed cause of **HUMAN FREEDOM**, and his **CHILDREN'S RIGHTS**; in such a cause every freeman will look all danger in the face, determined **NEVER TO GIVE UP THE SHIP**.

Republicans of Maryland look at your enemies! who are they? not those worthy citizens who are *blind-folded and misled by the leaders* of the Federal party—No, your real enemies, the *fomentors* of all the opposition to the government during the war, and of all the discord which now prevails in society, are such men as Harper, Pickering and Quincey, and their plant tools in the different counties, who altogether compose the most depraved the most ungrateful *faction* that ever disturbed the repose of a free, a prosperous, and heavenly favored country—they are your real enemies—they are the enemies of equal rights in every shape and form—their motto is to **RULE IN HELL SOONER THAN SERVE IN HEAVEN**.

THESE ARE THE MEN who had **PUBLIC REJOICINGS** in **ANNAPOLIS**, for the victories of England and her Allies, whereby the **PEOPLE** of all Europe were placed at the disposal of four “legitimate monarchs,” like so many helpless sheep in the hands of a butcher—and this too while the Chesapeake was covered with a *hostile British fleet*.

THEY ARE THE SAME MEN who declared it **UNBECOMING** to rejoice at **OUR OWN VICTORIES**, over the common enemy.

THEY ARE THE SAME MEN who held **HARTFORD CONVENTIONS TO DISSOLVE THE UNION**.

THEY ARE THE SAME PARTY which professes to be the exclusive friends of the navy, yet **BURNED BLUE LIGHTS** to betray Decatur and his gallant little squadron into the hands of the enemy off New London.

THEY profess to be the friends of the *Freedom of Elections* and yet **AVOWEDLY HIRED** a band of depraved

wretches, to go down to overthrow the known republican majority of Annapolis.

THESE ARE THE MEN who at one moment took a solemn oath to support the Constitution and at the next moment committed the **ALLEGANY FRAUD**.

THEY ARE THE MEN who profess to be the sleepless guardians of the public treasure, and yet put into the pockets of Governor **WINDER** \$1613, under pretex of services never rendered, and which if he had rendered, would only have entitled him to his regular salary of 1000 pounds.

THESE ARE THE MEN who profess to be the fast friends of the poor man, and yet have a poor man, for a small debt, **TIED LIKE A RUN AWAY NEGRO** and ignominiously exposed through the country.

THEY are the men who deceitfully profess a high regard for the free exercise of the right of suffrage, and have now got their **BIBERY TICKETS** printed on *paste board*, which can't be folded up—for the double purpose of detecting and persecuting the poor man who dares vote his sentiments in opposition to them, and by way of announcing to their *compliant judges*, this is a **FEDERAL VOTER**, legal or not **HE MUST BE ADMITTED**.

In the presumptuous hope of triumph, by bribery and corruption, the most diabolical schemes of *revenge* and *persecution* have already been planned. They no longer disguise their intention to **TAKE FROM THE PEOPLE THE RIGHT OF CHOOSING THE SHERIFF**. He is to be the creature of the Governor and Council, with an understanding that his *place* depends upon the fidelity with which he persecutes every stern Republican who shall refuse to **BOW DOWN** in lowly and servile homage before the High Priests of the federal party. Packed juries upon your life and property will be the order of the day, and the boasted privilege of jury trial will remain only in the history of times that have passed away.

Already have they exultingly proclaimed that “**BALTIMORE SHALL BE RULED WITH A ROD OF IRON**”—That great and flourishing city, which is to Maryland as the heart to the human body, the source of activity and reward to honest industry throughout the state, y'es, Baltimore, who “gives graves to her invaders, to her defenders a monument,” must humbly bend her proud neck to the foot of every contemptible upstart factionist, or be humbled into dust and ashes.

REPUBLICANS OF MARYLAND, it is against *such men* whose ends and means are alike foul and odious, that I exhort you to turn out in all your strength on the first Monday in September—Keep an eye steadily fixed on the judges of election, and remember—**“DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP** were the dying words of

LAWRENCE.

P. S. If federalists succeed, it will be the *entering wedge of despotism*, so let every Republican who deserts the ship of state and stays at home on that day, reflect while he lives, that he has contributed something to the enslavement of his country.

Anti-Federalist Broadside, Undated.

James Lawrence, "Don't give up the Ship," appealed to the Republicans of Maryland not to give up the ship of state. In this broadside the Federalists were severely criticized. The claim is made in a handbill, published Sept. 26, 1814, addressed "To the People of Talbot" that the Federalists opposed voting rights for the rank and file and that they had prevented delegates of the Republican or Democratic party from Allegany county from taking their seats after they had been duly elected.¹²

At the office of the *Baltimore Patriot*, a newspaper, there was published on Sept. 11, 1815, a broadside entitled "Mr. Harper's Precious Letter." In this handbill there was reproduced an alleged letter of Major General Robert Goodloe Harper, dated Oct. 10, 1814, written to George Baer, of Frederick, in which Harper defended the British impressment policy and called it "right in itself." Another broadside, probably published in 1815, addressed "To the Citizens of Maryland," and signed "Franklin," compared the political policies and activities of the Federalists and Republicans, and urged Marylanders to vote for the latter party.¹³

There are several broadsides printed during this period which deal with the activities of the Maryland militia. An early handbill, printed in 1807, gives the "Constitution of the Baltimore Volunteer Guards." Officers and non-commissioned officers were elected by the company which consisted of "one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, four Sergeants, four Corporals, one Drummer, one Fifer, and Sixty-four privates, but if more members should offer, it may be augmented hereafter." The uniform worn by the men must indeed have been imposing. It consisted of "long Coat of deep blue ground, buff-facings, cape and cuffs, and plated buttons; blue Pantaloon, white Vest with covered buttons; a Chapeau bras, black ribbon Cockade, with a silver Eagle and a red Feather; a black Stock of leather or velvet; half-boots with tassels; the hair dressed with powder."¹⁴

¹² "To the Citizens of Talbot County," is the title of another broadside published at Easton on Sept. 30, 1815. In this a man who signs as "A Republican" exposes what he called a Federal trick as a pure fabrication.

¹³ Broadside can also be found for this period which deal with the following subjects: State representatives to Congress, electors of President and Vice-President; political controversies involving Thomas M. Forman and Dr. William Matthews (Sept. 19, 1791); Mercer and Ross,—Mr. Mercer considers Mr. Ross's publication against him . . . (Sept. 15, 1792), "An off hand Reply to a Voter, &c." (1792).

¹⁴ There is also a broadside of a later date (July 30, 1846), describing in detail the uniform of an officer of the Maryland militia at that time.

One item, dated Mar. 22, 1819, refers to the Twenty-Seventh Regiment of Maryland militia. It is a formal notice of parades "for Drill and Discipline, opposite the Circus, in George Street," and absentees from parades were warned that they would be tried before a Court Martial held "at the Shakespeare Tavern, corner of Lemmon and East Streets." The notice is signed by Samuel D. Legrand, Captain, Fifth Company, 2nd Battalion.¹⁵

Although printed in Pennsylvania at the Office of the *York Gazette* in 1814, one broadside refers to the Fifth Maryland Regiment. It is entitled the "Muster Roll of the Company commanded by Captain M. H. Spangler, as it marched from this place on the 29th of August 1814." This roll, which is embellished with ornamental scroll work, has the names of the officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates. At the foot of the list are three regimental orders issued by officers of the Fifth Regiment, with whom this company of York volunteers served on Sept. 12, 1814, thanking them for their services against the British on that day and commending them for their bravery.¹⁶

Several broadsides refer to the War of 1812. The following notice, dated Baltimore, March 1813, recalls those trying days when the British were invading our shores. It is signed by John H. Rogers, a Captain in the Fifty-first Maryland Militia, and is addressed to the members of his company:

Sir,

In obedience to a Regimental Order, you will furnish yourself with a Knapsack, Canteen, and Ten rounds ball Cartridges, suitable to your Fire-

¹⁵ Another item regarding the 27th Regiment is more in the nature of a political broadside. It has no date, is signed by "A Private of the 27th Regiment," and defends Colonel Steuart for voting for the militia law.

¹⁶ On Sept. 12, 1843, the York North Pointers, as they called themselves, held a celebration at York, Pa. The muster roll, with the names of survivors indicated, was printed on blue silk.

The following are also about the Fifth Regiment. One is a notice, dated April 1st, 1823, signed by John S. Gittings which lists the parades of the Washington Guards, a company of that regiment. There are two certificates of the "Independent Blues," a company of the Fifth Regiment, which state that so and so as a member of this company saw service at the Battles of Bladensburg and North Point. There is also a song sheet which is dedicated by "Ned M——y to my fellow comrades and members of the gallant 5th Regt. M.N.G. on the night of July 20, 1877." The verses, which were to be sung to the tune of the Admiral's song in "Pinafore," are about a boy of 19 who became a corporal in Company C.

Another item about the Maryland militia is dated Aug. 11, 1835, and is signed by John Spear Smith, Major General of the Third Division of Maryland militia. This gives notice of a parade at five o'clock on that day and also mentions a recent disturbance.

lock, and hold yourself in readiness to repair immediately to my quarters on the George Town Road, with arms and accoutrements, upon any Alarm that may be given, by the ringing of the watch bell,—Our Enemy is at the door, therefore it is hoped that no Man, who wishes well to his Country, will be missing.¹⁷

Although undated, a broadside entitled "Plain Calculations" was obviously printed during the War of 1812, as it contains arguments against sending an army to conquer Canada. Objections to such a campaign were put on the ground that it would cost about one hundred and eighty million dollars and would probably mean the sacrifice of thirty thousand lives. Furthermore it was maintained that Canada was a cold, inhospitable country.

Two broadsides about the War of 1812 were published sometime after that war. One relates a meeting of the "Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814," which was held at the City Hall, in Baltimore, on Feb. 17, 1851. It is a petition signed by Jos. K. Stapleton, President of the Association and other officers, asking Congress to pass a law granting each man who fought in the War of 1812 one hundred and sixty acres. It is stated that, as many soldiers served without pay for several months during that war, in consideration of their services they were entitled to this land.

The other broadside, entitled the "Wells and McComas Funeral and Monument Song," was dedicated to the memory of the two youths who shot and killed General Ross at the time of the British landing on North Point. This song sheet, which was published in Baltimore on Sept. 13, 1858, was written by a man who describes himself as "a little boy at the time of the Battle of Baltimore." Set to the tune of the "Star-Spangled Banner," it was probably sung at the time of the dedication of the monument in Baltimore to the memory of Wells and McComas. Some of the lines read:

¹⁷ *The Republican Star, Extra*, for Sept. 30, 1814, which is a broadside, contains an interesting account of the British landing at North Point and the attack on Fort McHenry. Several of the broadsides in the Society's collection published during the period under discussion contain news of military or naval battles in the United States or abroad.

Of more interest to Pennsylvanians than to Marylanders is a handbill printed in Lancaster, Pa., which contains a list of officers and privates of the Rifle Company, formed in Lancaster, and marched therefrom for Baltimore, on the 3d day of Sept. 1814.

Let Baltimore honor their names and their grave,
Whilst the star-spangled banner continues to wave.

Service during the Revolution or the War of 1812 was frequently the basis of a candidate's claim to be elected to office. Standish Barry, who ran for the office of sheriff of the city and county of Baltimore, based his campaign partly on his military record. Barry, who had been a colonel in command of the Baltimore Independent Blues, a company of the Fifth Regiment, had seen service in the battles of Bladensburg and North Point. He had also served with one of the local fire companies. Opposed to Barry for the same office was Philemon Towson whose candidacy was chiefly based on the ground that he had previously served as deputy sheriff, although he, too, had served as a private during the Revolution. One handbill, circulated by the friends of Colonel Barry, complained that those backing Towson had unfairly commented on the poverty of Colonel Barry as though this disqualified him from holding office. On the other hand, a broadside, distributed by the friends of Philemon Towson, made fun of the emphasis which Barry's backers placed on this military record as though this alone qualified him to be sheriff.¹⁸

Statements which he had made during the War of 1812 were the basis of an attack on Captain William E. Williams, when he was a candidate for the Assembly. A broadside, published in 1819, alleged that when the British were besieging Baltimore, Captain Williams had urged that, since the city was in danger, "the inhabitants . . . had better capitulate and make the best bargain they could with the British and that he was on his way there and would consent to an arrangement of that kind."¹⁹

¹⁸ The following broadsides refer to this campaign: "Sheriffalty. To the Voters of the City and County of Baltimore," signed Standish Barry, June 1823(?); a broadside addressed to the "Baltimore Independent Blues," dated Aug. 24, 1824 (this advocates the election of Barry as sheriff); "To the Voters of Baltimore City and County," signed "The Committee," 1824; "At a meeting of the General Committee in behalf of Philemon Towson, Esq. . . . the following address was adopted . . ." (1824); "Take Notice" (The friends of Towson are invited to attend a meeting), Sept. 2, 1824; "To the Voters of Baltimore City and County," signed "The Committee," 1824; "Self Defence," signed "The Committee," 1824.

¹⁹ Three broadsides deal with this campaign: "To the Gallant Defenders of Baltimore," Oct. 1, 1819; "The Challenge accepted," Sept. 29, 1819; "To the Voters of Frederick County," signed William E. Williams, Sept. 30, 1819. In one of these broadsides the charge was made against Williams that he had stated that no man should be entitled to vote unless he owned property or paid taxes, although later he had modified this statement to exclude only foreigners without property qualifications.

John Creagh, who was a candidate for the City Council of Baltimore, was accused of having fled to the countryside when the British invaded Maryland and of later having retired to live in Europe in order to spend the money which he had acquired in Baltimore. This information is contained in a broadside (circa 1829) addressed "To the Citizens of the 4th Ward." It was signed by a man using the pseudonym "Timoleon" who said that he did not think that such a man should represent the city.

The lack of a military record was the basis of an attack on Christopher St. John. A broadside, dated Sept. 25, 1830, was entitled "St. John,—Wood Corder." It was signed by someone using the pseudonym "Patrick Henry." It appears that St. John had been appointed to some office by the Governor of Maryland. The broadside lamented the fact that such a man had been rewarded with office, who only recently had become a citizen of the United States, while those who had fought in the Revolution or in the War of 1812 went unrewarded with office.

FROM THE WAR OF 1812 TO THE MEXICAN WAR

Political broadsides in the Society's collection for this period can be considered under several headings. Many of them are about campaigns on the Eastern Shore, that hotbed of politics. They related to the struggle for political power between the Federalists and the Republicans (Democrats). One pro-Republican handbill (circa 1816) addressed "To the Citizens of Cecil County" contains a review of the policies of the Federalists and how for many years they had opposed all Republican policies. It was claimed that Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and every conspicuous Republican had been the objects of the "most violent attacks" of the Federalists.

A broadside, published in Easton in August, 1821, addressed "To the People," and signed by "A Poor Man," was also anti-Federalist in the sentiments which it expressed. It contains an attack on Edmondson, Goldsborough and other Federalists who had backed a law introduced by Robert Goodloe Harper which made it difficult for any one to purchase liquors or wines in less quantity than thirty gallons. This law, it was claimed, was aimed at the poor man who kept a retail shop as he could not always raise the necessary cash, while a well-to-do man could purchase

thirty gallons for cash and retail it when and as he pleased. In another broadside, entitled "Falsehood detected and exposed," dated Aug. 27, 1821, and signed "John Edmondson," the latter attempted to prove that he was not opposed to the poor man's right to vote.²⁰

In Queen Anne's county, on the Eastern Shore, John Leeds Kerr was a candidate for Congress. Two broadsides were published by Kerr, one of which, dated Sept. 28, 1824, was addressed "To the People," while the other dated Sept. 29, 1826, was addressed "To all fair and honest men." Both handbills were printed in Easton. According to a note made in longhand on the 1824 broadside, "this was a reply to an address of Colonel Thomas Emory of Queen Anne's published in the 'Star' of Sept. 21, 1824. Col. Emory was the Democratic candidate for Congress and Mr. Kerr's opponent." Kerr claimed that Emory was trying to secure the support of Federalists as well as Democrats, while he maintained that he was "independent of all party views." In the broadside, published in 1826, Kerr said that he would always back the best man whether he was a Federalist or a Democrat.

Kerr won his seat in Congress in 1824 and was a candidate for reelection in 1829. This time he was opposed by Richard Spencer. The latter, in a broadside addressed "To the Voters of Talbot, Queen Anne's and Caroline Counties," offered his name as a candidate for Congress in order to afford those opposed to Kerr's reelection an opportunity of expressing their opinion by voting for him. Although he was a Jackson man, Spencer said that he would welcome anti-Jackson support.

Kerr published three broadsides advocating his own reelection to Congress. All three were published in Easton, all were addressed "To the People," and all were signed by Kerr. They are dated Aug. 25, Sept. 12 and Sept. 25, 1829. In the one published on Sept. 12, Kerr reviewed the political situation in Caroline, Talbot and Queen Anne's counties. In the broadside for Aug. 25 Kerr said that at the time of his first election to the House of Representatives the old party distinction between Federalists and Democrats had disappeared and that he had been

²⁰ A broadside published about 1822 or 1823 has the title "Remarks" and is signed "Orthodox." It contains a discussion of the proposed change in the state's constitution in regard to the test required for those who held offices. Because they would not take a Christian oath, the handbill argued against Jews holding office.

elected by the people at large. As a Congressman he preferred to vote on each measure solely on its merits and he would never vote the "party way." Kerr added that he considered the House of Representatives "the People's House, and he, who takes upon himself the sacred duty of representing them ought to hold himself free from all influence by, and all entangling party connections with either the incumbent in the executive chair, or any other candidate for that high office. . . ."

In the other broadside (Sept. 25, 1829) Kerr stated that he did not think that the Speaker of the House of Representatives should be selected merely because he was of the same political party as the President. It was better, he thought, to have Congress as a legislative body independent of and a direct check upon the executive.²¹

There are several broadsides which relate to the campaign in 1826 between Jacob Small and John Montgomery for the office of Mayor of Baltimore. All of the handbills in the Society's collection advocate Small for Mayor. In one of them, published in 1824, the public is warned that they ought to know that the pretense urged by Montgomery for his voting against the incorporation of the Catholic Church was false, as he had never opposed any act for the incorporation of a Protestant church.

²¹ Although Kerr lost this campaign, he was successful in 1831. Two broadsides in the Society's collection relate to John Barney, who was a member of Congress from Maryland. In one of them dated Sept. 29th, 1826, signed by "A Friend to Truth," and entitled "Mark now, how a plain tale will put him down," Barney was accused of reading a confidential letter in public. The author of the handbill said that a man who thus betrayed the confidence of his friend "may be an Honourable man, but it can only be because he is a member of Congress." In reply to this accusation, Barney issued a signed broadside entitled "Gentlemen—I learn from my friends that the noise in the crowd, etc." In this handbill he denied that he had ever read a confidential letter in public, and that he had only shown the letter in private.

There is a broadside referring to George Edward Mitchell, another member of Congress from Maryland. Addressed "To the Freemen of the Sixth Congressional District," it is dated Sept. 26, 1829, and signed "Aristides." This handbill praises Mitchell who was opposed by a man named Williams. It appears that both men had served in the State legislature but that Mitchell had served in Congress as well. The author of this broadside tried to disprove the statement of Williams that his lands were cultivated by free labour by showing that he once had an interest in a ship called "The Aristides," which had taken a cargo of forty negro slaves to New Orleans.

In another broadside addressed "To the Voters of the Second Congressional District of Maryland," V[irgil] Maxcy gives his reasons for withdrawing his name as a candidate for Congress. It is dated July 17, 1826, Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel county.

Another broadside contains an account of the rather eventful life of Colonel Small. He had served as a volunteer in 1794 when an attempt was made to quell the "Whiskey Insurrection." Small had also served as a Sergeant Major of the 5th Regiment and later as a Colonel of the 39th Regiment. A broadside, published in 1826, criticized the policies of John Montgomery, who had served as Mayor, and urged the election of Small in his place. A handbill published in the same year urged those appointed on a committee of vigilance to do their best to elect Jacob Small and to prevent illegal voting. In a similar vein is a broadside entitled "Voters Beware!" in which the "Friends of Small" gave notice that any attempt to vote twice was a criminal offense and that all such attempts at the forthcoming mayoralty election would be detected and punished.

Several men signed a statement in a broadside addressed "To the Irishmen of Baltimore" to the effect that Jacob Small was not unfriendly to Irishmen and foreigners, as had been claimed. After Small had won his campaign for Mayor in 1826, he published a broadside in the following year in which he reviewed acts of his administration during the past and also made suggestions as to his future policies.²²

A heated and bitter political controversy developed when John V. L. McMahon ran for the House of Delegates during the fall of 1827. McMahon, who had lived in Allegany county, had recently come to Baltimore to make his residence there. In a broadside addressed "To the Citizens of Baltimore," and signed by "A Friend to Baltimore," it is said that when he had been living in Allegany county he was hostile to the interests of Baltimore, that when he was representing Allegany county in the State legis-

²² Information regarding this mayoralty campaign can be found in the following broadsides: "Facts! Facts!" signed by "Truth Teller," 1824; two broadsides addressed "To the Voters of the City of Baltimore," and signed by "The Friends of Small," both published in 1826; a handbill dated Sept. 16, 1826, giving notice of the appointment of a committee of vigilance; a broadside published in the same year, signed by "Friends of Small," warning voters to beware of illegal voting in the forthcoming election; a broadside addressed to the Irishmen of Baltimore, dated Sept. 25, 1826; and the "Mayor's Communication," dated Jan. 1, 1827, in which Small reviews the acts of his administration.

Another broadside regarding Jacob Small is one published Sept. 2, 1828. In this handbill entitled "Defensive To the Voters of Baltimore" and signed by "The General Committee of Col. Small's Friends," an attempt is made to defend their action in having furnished public officials extracts from court records in regard to Colonel Barry. From these records it appeared that Barry by his own confession admitted that he was a defaulter to the state in a sum exceeding \$3,000.

lature he had denounced Baltimore as the "Modern Delilah," and made the statement that the city had filled the sea with pirates. The "Friend to Baltimore" maintained that any one voting for McMahon "at once proclaims by that act, that our fair daughters are so many 'Modern Delilah's'—that Baltimore is the vile nest from which 'the ocean has been filled with Pirates.'"

In a similar vein is a broadside (circa 1827) signed by "Carroll" and addressed "To the People of Baltimore." In this handbill McMahon is accused of opposing increased representation for the city when he was representing Allegany county at Annapolis, and that he had changed his tactics when he moved from that county to Baltimore. McMahon is spoken of as having "ungraciously mounted the shoulders of General Jackson."

John S. Tyson was the candidate running against McMahon for the House of Delegates. In a broadside addressed "To my Constituents" Tyson claimed that McMahon had spread a report that he had struck and insulted him "on the hustings." Such a report, Tyson said, was "a lie and John V. L. McMahon its author and propagator." Tyson maintained that he pledged his "veracity" for the truth of what he stated and held himself responsible as "a man of honor for the consequences." A broadside having the title of "Act like Baltimoreans" and signed by "A True Friend to Baltimore," was published in 1827. In this the people of Baltimore were urged to vote for John S. Tyson and John Stricker, Jr., Democratic-Republican candidates for the State legislature.

In a handbill of the same year entitled "Questions and Answers" it is disclosed that a Civic Feast had been held in Baltimore on Sept. 12, 1827. This broadside contains a criticism of McMahon and Steuart, candidates on the Federalist ticket for the House of Delegates. It is claimed that the ultra-Federalists, despairing of getting into power, were using General Jackson as a stalking horse on which to ride into office. The author of the handbill hoped that the real Democrats would not be deceived by this practice. It appears that John Stricker, Jr., who was a son of General John Stricker, of Revolutionary and War of 1812 fame, had been denied an opportunity to speak at the Civic Feast and this upon "an occasion rendered dear by the gallantry of his father."

Another broadside appeared at about this time (1827) addressed "To the Democratic Voters of Baltimore," and signed by "One of You." In this it is stated that Charles Carroll Harper, the son of Robert Goodloe Harper, had said that young Stricker was seeking to profit by his father's reputation, or, to quote Harper's words:

Not content with his own merits—unwilling to rest his claims on them—like a Hyena, he roots up the bones of the dead, upon which he expects to raise a reputation;—and like a miserable beggar, he carries them in his arms from door to door, begging for your votes.

In order to show that young Harper was not in a position to offer such a criticism, the author of the broadside proceeded to quote from a letter written on Oct. 10, 1814, by Harper's father, General Robert Goodloe Harper. From this letter it appeared that the General had defended the British impressment of American sailors. The handbill ends with an appeal to the electorate to vote for John Stricker, Jr. and John S. Tyson, the Democratic candidates, running against McMahan and Stuart, Federal candidates.

Tyson appears to have been a man given to calling other men untruthful. We have seen how he so branded a statement of John V. L. McMahan. In another broadside, dated July 8, 1828, and entitled "Second Edition to Honorable Men," Tyson called Dabney S. Carr "a political assassin, an unprincipled villain, a liar and a coward—a disgrace to your party, and a stigma to the town." Carr, according to a memorandum made in longhand on this broadside, was the editor of a pro-Jackson paper in Baltimore, who had made an attack on Tyson's character. Tyson said that after he had so described Carr, the latter, instead of acting like a gentleman and a man of honor, had replied in a handbill which contained many false statements. "He is, therefore, a degraded man, and unworthy of further notice" was Tyson's conclusion.²³

²³ The Society has a broadside (*circa* 1825) which Charles Carroll Harper had printed in Baltimore. Addressed to his "Fellow Citizens" it stated reasons for voting for him as a delegate to the General Assembly. Harper advocated, among other things, a public school system, African colonization for freed Negroes, and greater representation for Baltimore in the General Assembly.

In a broadside, dated Sept. 14, 1827, addressed "To the Citizens of Harford County," signed by Nathaniel W. S. Hays, the latter denied that he was opposed to a man named William Smithson as a candidate for the state legislature.

The election of 1828, when the candidates were John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, resulted in the publication of pro-Adams and pro-Jackson broadsides. On Sept. 12, 1826, Jesse Talbot, candidate for Congress, addressed a handbill "To the Voters of Baltimore City and County," in which he stated that he was for Adams against General Jackson. Talbot was also for the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. He claimed that it would enhance the value of property in the city and be the means of bringing the greatest portion of the produce of the Western States to Maryland markets.

In Baltimore, on May 4, 1827, there was published a broadside entitled "A Meeting of the Friends of the Administration," which was signed by "Many Friends of the plough, the loom and the ship." The meeting was to be held at the Exchange Buildings in Baltimore. This handbill praised and backed Adams for the Presidency. Similar in sentiment was a broadside published in Talbot county, on Aug. 11, 1827, addressed "To the Public," and signed by "A Federal Voter." Also in favor of John Quincy Adams was a broadside printed about 1828, entitled "Falsehood Exposed," and signed by "An Enemy to Falsehood and Persecution." In this handbill letters of George Washington and Adams are quoted from to show that both men were despondent about the outcome of two wars; Washington about the Revolution and Adams about the War of 1812.

Several broadsides were published in Maryland which favored the candidacy of General Jackson. One of them, dated Nov. 3, 1828, was signed by the "Jackson Central Committee of Maryland." This contained a plea for the people to vote for Andrew Jackson on November 10th. After the election, this same committee published on Sept. 11, 1830, a handbill entitled "Baltimore Republican, Extra." In this it is stated that the "Clay and Adams party" are still as much opposed to Jackson as they were in 1828. Published about the same time (1830) was another broadside addressed "To the People of Frederick County." This contains praise for General Jackson's administration and urged the Western counties of Maryland to support Francis Thomas for Congress and also four Republicans (or Democrats) for the Maryland House of Delegates.

In a different vein was a handbill, dated Oct. 5, 1833, entitled "Facts for the People," and signed "Justice." This gives nine-

teen reasons why no real Democrat could consistently vote for Francis Thomas, who was opposed by Joseph I. Merrick. One of the reasons urged against Thomas was that "he preaches rotation, and practices perpetuity in office. . . ." An attempt was also made to show that Thomas was trying to be both a Federalist and a Democrat at the same time.²⁴

One pro-Jackson item is entitled a "Portrait of Wm. B. Barney, late Naval Officer of this Port." This was published on Sept. 13, 1830. It attempts to justify President Jackson's removal from office of Barney by showing the latter's mismanagement of funds under his charge²⁵ It appears that Mary Barney, wife of Wm. B. Barney, who was a son of Commodore Joshua Barney, had previously (June 13, 1829) written a letter to General Jackson in which she severely criticized him for removing her husband from office. The Society has a copy of this letter which is printed on silk. It is entitled "Mrs. Barney's Letter to General Jackson, on the Removal of her Husband from Office."

During the election of 1832 when Jackson was again a candidate for the Presidency, a broadside advocating his reelection was published at Govanstown on Nov. 3. This is a political circular signed by Phil. Poultney, Chairman of the Jackson Corresponding Committee of Baltimore county. It contains a plea to vote for Andrew Jackson and for John Spear Smith, elector of Baltimore county. Smith was the first President of the Maryland Historical Society.²⁶

²⁴ In a broadside, dated Aug. 13, 1830, addressed "To the Voters of the Eastern Shore of Maryland," signed by "A Farmer," the latter gave his reasons for being won over to Jackson against whom he voted in 1828.

²⁵ Exactly the same facts are stated in handbill entitled "A Plain History of the Causes of the Removal of Wm. B. Barney." Apparently the material on which the broadsides are based was taken from the *Baltimore Republican*.

There are a number of broadsides in the Society's collection which relate to an election in Talbot county at about this time (1830). From these we learn that William Hughlett was charged with changing the names on the anti-Jackson ticket by omitting the name of Joshua M. Faulkner. Hughlett denied this accusation. Another charge made against Hughlett was that his bill for abolishing the Levy Court had been described by Edw. N. Hambleton as "an electioneering trick got up by him to secure the county officers to the Adams party." This was also denied. The following handbills refer to this controversy: "Most Infamous Trick!" signed W. Hughlett, Sept. 4, 1830; "Self Defense," signed Levin Millis and Thomas Hendrix, Oct. 19, 1830; "Self Defense," letters and statements signed by J. M. Faulkner, Nicholas Orem, *et als.*, Nov. 8, 1830; "Precious Confession," signed "A Citizen," Sept. 27, 1830; "To the Voters of Talbot County," signed Edw. N. Hambleton, Sept. 28, 1830.

²⁶ Also pro-Jackson in sentiment is a broadside, dated June 28, 1833, and published in Baltimore. Signed by Wm. Krebs, P. Laurensen and Louis Wm. Jenkins, it urges the support and election of all the Democratic candidates.

Anti-Jackson in sentiment is a broadside printed on silk on Oct. 10, 1834. It is entitled "Seventh Ward," and was signed by Edward S. Norris, Francis Barker, and others. In this handbill thanks are tendered to the ladies of the Seventh Ward for their presenting a banner to the Young Whigs of the same ward. Mention is made of the triumph of the Whigs over pro-Jackson forces in that ward as well as in other wards in the city. Hope is expressed that the General and his party will be defeated and the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws will be restored. Those who backed Jackson are called man worshippers.

A broadside published in the following year (Sept. 25, 1835) addressed "To the Voters of Somerset County in answer to 'A Whig Voter'" and signed by "An Independent Voter," contains praise for General Jackson. It discusses the convention in Baltimore which nominated Van Buren for President and denies that Jackson forced Van Buren's nomination.²⁷

During the fall of 1836 when the Presidential campaign resulted in the election of Martin Van Buren to the nation's highest office, Maryland was in a political turmoil as result of the action taken by nineteen of the electors chosen to name the members of a new State Senate. There were forty electors in all, of which number twenty-four constituted a quorum. Twenty-one of the electors met at Annapolis ready to perform their duties, but the other nineteen refused to meet with them except on certain conditions. The latter took the position that although they represented almost twice as many people as the twenty-one did, yet, in the electoral body, they were only nineteen in number to twenty-one for the other. For this reason they demanded that they be conceded the nomination of eight of the members of the State Senate, that is, a majority, as there were fifteen Senators in all. Unless this was done, they maintained that they would refuse to qualify as electors.

The twenty-one electors, who met in Annapolis ready to proceed with the nomination of the fifteen Senators, claimed that the nineteen electors had no legal ground for the position they took

²⁷ On August 11, 1836, there was published a broadside entitled "Martin Van Buren voted that every free negro be entitled to vote at the polls!!" This handbill asserts that Van Buren so voted at a convention held in New York in 1821 for the purpose of amending the state constitution. If a man with such views were elected President, it was felt that he might try to impose such views on other states.

and that they had no option in the matter but should qualify as electors. Feeling ran high. A public mass meeting was held at Monument Square to protest the action of the nineteen electors. At this meeting the opinion was voiced that their action was a violation of the State Constitution. It was said that the nineteen electors who were Van Buren men, acted as they did for party reasons. At the same time approval was expressed of the action of the twenty-one electors who were ready and willing to discharge their duty of nominating a new Senate.

Governor Thomas W. Veazey finally took a hand in the matter. In a proclamation he pointed out that the action of the nineteen electors was without any legal justification and that such acts might lead to civil war. In view of the situation, the Governor called a special session of the General Assembly. Veazey promised to preserve the Constitution of the State until it was changed in a constitutional manner.²⁸

Three broadsides deal with the Presidential campaign of 1840 when Van Buren was opposed to William Henry Harrison. Criticism of Harrison's military record is contained in a broadside entitled "A Faithful Portrait of the Whig Hero." Also against Harrison and in favor of Van Buren for President is a broadside with the caption "Look on this picture [Van Buren], and on this! [Harrison]." Advocating Harrison for President was a handbill entitled "The Marrow of the Fraud and Conspiracy," signed by "Marius."

The Presidential campaign of 1844 is the subject of two broadsides. In this year Clay was opposed to Polk. The Society has a handbill dated May 2, 1844, entitled "Programme of the Whig

²⁸ For a discussion of this whole question, see J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), III, p. 190 *et seq.* The broadsides which relate to this controversy are the following: "To the People of Maryland," signed by the 19 electors, Annapolis, Sept. 21, 1836; *Maryland Republican—Extra*, Annapolis, Sept. 23, 1836; "To the People of Maryland," signed by the 21 electors, Sept. 24, 1836; "Great Public Meeting," Baltimore, Sept. 27, 1836; "To the Voters of the City of Annapolis," signed by Thomas S. Alexander, Annapolis, Sept. 27, 1836; "By His Excellency Thomas W. Veazey, Governor of Maryland. A Proclamation," signed by Thomas W. Veazey, Annapolis, Nov. 8, 1836.

Although it has no date, there is one broadside which was probably printed at about this time. It is entitled "The Two Lawyers," and is signed by "No Fancy Sketch, A. W." This handbill contains a plea to vote for the Democratic candidates Carroll and Hillen as against the two lawyers, whose names are not disclosed. It is claimed that the attorneys in question had deserted the Jackson ranks and turned Whig.

National Procession." This contains the arrangements for the Whig parade which formed at 7:15 a. m. on Monument Square, in Baltimore. Another broadside dealing with the same campaign has the heading "Whig Mass Meeting and Barbecue!" This gives notice of a mass meeting to be held on the Harford turnpike road, twelve miles from Baltimore, near Barton's Long Green Valley. Clay clubs of Baltimore city and county were invited to be present. At this meeting S. Teackle Wallis, John P. Kennedy and others were asked to give addresses. Sept. 28, 1844, is the date of this political handbill.

FROM THE MEXICAN WAR TO THE CIVIL WAR

One broadside deals with the Presidential campaign of 1848. It has the caption "Address of the Democratic City Convention to the Democracy of Maryland," and is signed by Henry S. Sander-son, President of the Democratic City Convention. This contains a plea to vote for Lewis Cass, Democratic candidate for President opposed to Zachary Taylor, Whig candidate.²⁹

The Society has a photostat of a broadside dealing with the Presidential campaign of 1856. It is entitled "Mass Meetings of the Democratic Party." This, signed by "The Central Committee," was issued by the friends of Buchanan and Breckinridge, in Anne Arundel County. The handbill gives the names of places where mass meetings were to be held. Those who were the friends of Constitution and opposed to Black Republicanism were urged to attend. This broadside, dated Sept. 1856, was printed at Annapolis.

The Presidential campaign of 1860 is the subject of a broadside dated October 9, and which has the lengthy heading "Grand Mass Meeting of the friends of the National Democratic Nominees, Douglas and Johnson, will be held in Easton, on Tuesday, the 23rd of October." It is signed by H. C. Mackey, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee for Talbot county. This

²⁹ Printed on Dec. 4, 1849, the *Baltimore American—Extra* (broadside) contains the message of President Taylor to both houses of the 31st Congress. Published at about this same time was a handbill entitled "Democrats Beware of Fraud!" In this the Democrats are warned not to allow themselves to be cheated out of the election by fraudulent voting on the part of the Whigs. This broadside has no date.

political handbill urges: "Let there be a grand rally of the TRUE DEMOCRACY of Talbot."³⁰

THE CIVIL WAR

The Society has a copy of a broadside, dated Dec. 20, 1860, with the caption "Charleston Mercury Extra." This contains South Carolina's ordinance dissolving the union between that state and the other states under the Constitution of the United States. "The UNION IS DISSOLVED!" proclaims this handbill.

At this critical time Thomas H. Hicks was governor of Maryland. Not long after the momentous action taken by the state of South Carolina, Hicks issued a broadside, on Jan. 3, 1861, addressed "To the People of Maryland." In this the Governor gave his reasons for not summoning the state legislature. It would vote for secession to which Hicks was of the opinion the majority of the people in Maryland were opposed. Although the Governor realized that the State was southern in its sympathies, he saw no reason why Maryland should break her ties with the Union at South Carolina's commands.

That Hick's stand did not meet with the approval of the people in many of the counties of Maryland is shown by the action taken in these counties. In Prince George's County, on Jan. 31, 1861, "The Planter's Advocate . . . Extra" was published. This broadside contains an account of a meeting held in that county, presided over by Samuel H. Berry, at which it was proposed to have delegates from Prince George's County attend a State Convention

³⁰ The following broadsides deal with local or state politics during the period from the Mexican War to the Civil War: "Sixth Ward," Oct. 4, 1848. (This presents the name of Charles F. Cloud, Democratic candidate for sheriff of Baltimore city); "Proceedings of the Baltimore County Convention," signed Benj. C. Howard, President, Wilson M. Cary, Vice-president, May, 1850. (In this Colonel John S. Gittings is suggested as the best candidate for Governor of Maryland); "Sacred to the Memory of Henry McElfresh, Esq., late a Representative in the Legislature of Maryland, from Frederick County, who died at Annapolis, March 25, 1852," signed John Thomas, Serg't at Arms, Senate. (This eulogizes a promising young man of 26); "Voters of the 11th Ward. If you wish to sell your city to the Parkersburg Railroad and the Gunpowder River Scheme, Vote for Thomas Swann and Wm. Gilmor, Wm. D. Miller." (This broadside has no date); also without date is a handbill addressed "To the Voters of the Tenth Ward." (This was sent with two tickets, one of the Democratic party and the other had the Whig state nominees and other independent Whigs and Democrats); *Baltimore Republican—Extra*, "All Hail, Virginia!" May 26, 1855. (This announces the election of Henry A. Wise, as Governor of Virginia, and the defeat of the "Know Nothing" party in that state.)

at Annapolis, on February 18th, to decide what action Maryland should take in the existing crisis. Governor Hicks' stand was criticized on the ground that inaction meant siding with the North.

In Charles County similar action was taken. In a broadside, dated Jan. 25, 1861, and entitled "Charles County Convention," it is stated that the three delegates elected to represent that county in a State Convention should have power to vote on any measure regarding Maryland's relation with the Federal government, provided the action of the State Convention was later submitted to the direct vote of the people. Use of coercion by the Federal government on seceding states was opposed. It was the opinion of the members of the Charles County Convention that there was a close association of interests between Maryland, Virginia, and the other border states.

In Frederick county a convention was presided over by Dr. William Waters. An account of the action taken by this county is contained in a broadside entitled "Proceedings of the County Convention Held in Frederick City, January 16th, 1861." The Frederick County convention considered plans for a State Convention to be held in Annapolis during February to decide what action Maryland should take in the existing emergency. The members of the county convention were also opposed to coercion being used by the North on the South and maintained that such a policy, if followed in Frederick, would force them to side with the South. That the attitude taken by the Frederick County convention did not meet with the approval of all the countians is shown by another broadside, published in 1861, and addressed "To the People of Maryland." In this the Middletown and Frederick Home Guards resolve to stand by the Union. "We know our rights, and we will defend them!" the handbill warns. The soldiers admitted, however, that there was a secession majority in the Maryland legislature.

An account of the proceedings of the Washington County convention is contained in *The Mail—Extra*, published at Hagerstown on Jan. 29, 1861. When this convention convened, a motion was made to adjourn to the public square. When this motion was lost, a number of the members, who were probably pro-Union in sympathy, left the convention. The members who remained proceeded to pass resolutions deploring the use of force on the

seceding states and advocating some sort of a State Convention at which the people of Maryland could express their opinions.

Talbot county, on the Eastern Shore, also held a convention in 1861. An account of these proceedings is contained in a broadside addressed "To the Voters of Talbot County." In this handbill the three delegates elected to represent Talbot county in the State Convention gave their views. They state that they are opposed to secession, except as a last resort, and that they also objected to the Federal government using force on a seceding state. The Talbot county delegates admitted that Maryland's proximity to the North would make it difficult for her to secede.

Another broadside relating to the Eastern Shore was published at Easton on May 8, 1861. This was addressed "To the People of Talbot County," and was signed by "Many Citizens." In this the editor of the *Easton Gazette* is criticized for calling certain people "secessionists." It is urged that the editor should appear before a grand jury of the county court to prove his assertion and that upon his failure to do so his remarks would be considered as a reflection on the community.

As we have seen, county conventions were held in Prince George's, Charles, Frederick, Washington and Talbot counties. Did any of the other counties take similar action? The fact that the Society has no broadsides giving accounts of such conventions does not necessarily mean that none were held.

Matters were now reaching a critical stage. The clash in Baltimore between Massachusetts troops and civilians had occurred in April, 1861. At the same time there appeared a broadside addressed to the "People of Baltimore!" In this it is stated that the flag of the Union is now only a memory of the past and that the hour for action has arrived. This was a trifle premature, however, as it was not long before Union troops took command of the city. In September General John L. Dix was in charge of the Federal soldiers stationed in Baltimore.

When the General issued an order forbidding the showing of the Confederate colors of red and white, a broadside appeared on Sept. 4, 1861, which made fun of that order. It is entitled "Gen. Dix's Proclamation." It is said that all mint candy and barber poles of that color were forbidden, and that:

All white persons having red hair and moustaches, or whiskers, are hereby warned to have the one or the other dyed blue, No sunrises or

sunsets which exhibit such combinations will be permitted, on pain of suppression. Persons are forbidden to drink red and white wines alternately. His Majesty (Abraham 1st) is, however, graciously pleased to make an exception in favor of red noses, these last being greatly in vogue among Federal officers. . . .

Done at the Baltimore Bastile [Ft. McHenry], this 4th day of September the 1st year of Abraham's glorious and peaceful reign.

Signed: JOHN L. DIX, Maj. Gen.

In a much more serious vein is a broadside published several months before this signed by "Women of Maryland," and entitled "An Appeal for Peace Sent to Lieut. Gen. Scott, July 4, 1861." In this it was called to Winfield Scott's attention how Lee, Johnston, and Beauregard had received their training under him and that these same men had been his comrades-at-arms. The women asked that the South should be allowed to go her way in peace.

The Society has two Civil War broadsides both dated Sept. 8, 1862. One entitled "Proclamation of General Lee" was issued at Robert E. Lee's Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia, near Fredericktown. Addressed "To the People of Maryland," and signed by him, in this handbill Lee says that Marylanders should know why his army has come into the State. It was, he said, to assist them in regaining the rights of which they had been despoiled by Northern invaders. Lee asserted that his army would not resort to intimidation in order to influence the citizens of Maryland. "It is for you," he added, "to decide your destiny, freely and without constraint. This Army will respect your choice, whatever it may be; and while the Southern people will rejoice to welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come of your own free will."

The other broadside, of the same date, was also addressed "To the People of Maryland." It was signed by Bradley T. Johnson, Colonel, C. S. A. Less temperate were the words of Colonel Johnson. He urged the people of Maryland to "rise at once! Remember the cells of Fort McHenry! Remember the dungeons of Fort Lafayette and Fort Warren; the insults to your wives and daughters, the arrests, the midnight searches of your houses! Remember these your wrongs, and rise at once in arms and strike for Liberty and right."³¹

³¹ Colonel Johnson appealing for enlistments in Maryland told each man to provide himself with one stout pair of shoes, one blanket and a tin cup.

The last item to be considered in the Civil War period is a broadside entitled "Farewell Address of the Maryland Battalion. Cloverdale, Va., April 28th, 1865." Signed by Major-General T. T. Mumford, Commanding Fitz Lee's Cavalry Division, the broadside is dedicated to the boys who sang the song:

I hear the distant thunder hum,
The Old Line bugle, fife and drum;
Maryland! My Maryland!!

General Mumford comments on the glorious fight put up by the Maryland battalion and adds:

But the hearts that are true to their country and God
Will report at the Grand Reveille, my boys.

The General concludes by saying "You who struck the FIRST BLOW in Baltimore and LAST in Virginia have done all that could be asked of you . . . with many thanks for your generous support, and a hearty GOD BLESS YOU, I bid you farewell."³²

³² The following items in the Society's collection also refer to the Civil War period: "Extra. New Constitution of the State of Maryland." This broadside has a copy of the constitution adopted by the Convention at Annapolis, Sept. 6, 1864, which was submitted to the people on the 12th and 13th of October, 1864. During the same year there was printed a handbill with the "Oath to be administered to every Voter . . . and Questions for the use of Judges of Election." The purpose of these oaths and questions was to prove a man's loyalty to the United States and to find out if he had either sympathized with or aided the South in her rebellion. Referring to the same subject is a broadside dated Oct. 19, 1864, entitled "Let us Close our Ranks!" This contains the address of the "Unconditional Union State Central Committee to the People of Maryland," which was signed by Henry W. Hoffman, on behalf of that committee. Mention is made of the ratification of the "Free State Constitution" by the people, of the oath required of every voter, and of the questions for the use of the Judges of Election. This handbill also has a plea to vote for Lincoln and Johnson on Nov. 8th.

The Society has two Thanksgiving Proclamations issued by Gov. Augustus W. Bradford on Oct. 29, 1863, and Nov. 10, 1865, respectively. In the first the Governor prays for the success of the Union, while in the second he rejoices that the war is ended and the Union has been preserved.

The abolition of slavery became effective in Maryland on Nov. 1, 1864. That this event was celebrated in Philadelphia is shown by a colored circular of that date entitled "In Commemoration of Emancipation in Maryland." This item is not strictly speaking a broadside.

"Honor the Heroic Dead" is the caption of a handbill printed on May 30, 1870. This contains an account of memorial exercises held on Decoration Day, at Mt. Olivet Cemetery, to honor soldiers who fought for the Union. It has the address delivered by Dr. Lewis H. Steiner.

A broadside having the title *Cambridge Herald—Extra*, and dated Nov. 6, 1862, has the names of men selected in the draft in Dorchester county. Tickets bearing the names of the different men were placed in a box and then drawn out by a little blindfolded boy.

There are a number of broadsides which were issued by Maryland newspapers and which contain news of the Civil War. These include the *Exchange Extra*, 1861; *The Kent Conservator*, Feb. 9, 1861; *News Sheet—Extra*, Nov. 7 (?), 13, 30, 1861; *The South—Extra*, Nov. 8, 1861; *Republican—Extra*, April 18, 20, 1861, Aug. 9, 1861, Oct. 10, 1861, Nov. 11, 16, 1861, Dec. 5, 14, 1861, Jan. 18, 1862.

FORT ST. INIGOES

By FANNY C. GOUGH

The recent acquisition of about 850 acres of St. Inigoes Manor for defense purposes has revived legends long since forgotten when that part of colonial Maryland was important in the plans of the Provincial Government. Though old Fort St. Inigoes and its history have passed out of the memory of the oldest inhabitants of that section, the significance of its strategic position has made an impression on the naval authorities of the present day.

The site of this fort, situated as it was on the lower end of St. Inigoes Manor, occupied the area which in 1943 was taken over by the Government as an interceptor base in connection with the naval air station at Cedar Point on the Patuxent river. Known as Webster Field, it is used as a base for fast-flying planes, kept in readiness at all times during war for military defensive purposes. On a point of land still called Fort Point, near the mouth of the St. Mary's River (or St. George's as it was then called), Fort St. Inigoes was a menace to all craft that came within the range of its guns unless given access to the harbor at St. Mary's by Captain John Price, Commander of the Fort.*

Fort St. Inigoes is said to have been built in 1637, and was then a Port of Entry for ships and a protection to the little band of early settlers in and around St. Mary's. It commanded an imposing view of the Potomac River and far beyond to the shores of Virginia, and northward to the upper reaches of the St. Mary's River. The early chronicles of that day give us an idea of its mission and the necessity for erecting a windmill in the surrounding stockade. The colonists in the outlying settlements were often

* This article is based largely on information found in the *Archives of Maryland*, Vols. I, III and IV. Mr. James Walter Thomas in his *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, and Dr. Raphael Semmes in *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* have discussed the Fort at St. Inigoes.

in danger from marauding Indians and bolder pirates of the sea, and the Fort became a refuge for the women and children in case of sudden attack.

By the Conditions of Plantation the early immigrants were granted large tracts of land, cut up by numerous navigable streams, which caused the dwellings to be so widely separated that many were at a great distance from the Fort at St. Mary's. For the protection of the inhabitants it became advisable "to erect some place of better strength in case of any sudden raid of Indian robbers and pillagers."

A system of signals was inaugurated whereby the settlers were warned of sudden danger and an order was given that "upon the discharge of three guns every householder should answer it and every housekeeper inhabiting St. Michael's Hundred between St. Inigoes Creek and Trinity Creek shall immediately upon the knowledge thereof carry his women and children to St. Inigoes Fort there to abide a month." A windmill was erected in the enclosure to furnish power for grinding grain and the sheriff was ordered to keep a guard of six able-bodied men in the Fort day and night until the crisis passed, when it would become safe for the settlers to return to their homes.

That the fear of danger was ever present is shown by the fact that the men were always armed, even when attending religious services, and the women prepared at the given signal to abandon home and household effects and seek shelter in the blockhouses within the Fort.

When the pretensions of Claiborne made it advisable for Governor Leonard Calvert to repair in person to the Isle of Kent, he issued a summons to all freemen in St. Michael's Hundred to meet the Secretary at St. Inigoes House on February 18, 1638. The Governor appointed John Lewger in that capacity, with power during his absence to act in his place. Following this, Leonard Calvert, on his return from England, and Governor Green during his tenure of office, made the Fort temporarily their headquarters. Here the Assembly of 1646 was held, Letters Patent for grants of land were issued, and many orders for the better protection and government of the Colony were promulgated.

Claiborne and Ingle had retired to Chicacoan, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, but they and their followers, on the plea of trade, made many incursions on the settlement. To prevent injury

to the inhabitants from that source, every person who came into the Province for any reason whatsoever, was obliged to present himself to the Commander of the Fort and take the Oath of Fealty to the "Right Honorable Lord Proprietary and heirs and his governors," and the Captain or Commander was to take in his possession and to hold in the Fort all arms and ammunition brought in by such persons and retain them until their departure.

The Indians in and around St. Mary's were peaceable and friendly, but the Susquehannocks to the north and the Nanticokes and the Wicomacks on the east made many depredations upon the inhabitants, inflicting severe losses on their cattle and growing crops. Captain John Price was commissioned to take thirty or forty influential and able-bodied men to subdue them, but strict orders were given that no division of any plunder or pillage was to be made until they had first returned to St. Inigoes Fort and made a full accounting of all such plunder or pillage secured by them.

Captain John Price had been made a Burgess in 1638, and because of his knowledge of military affairs was commissioned Commander of the Fort. This position he held with great credit and entire satisfaction for many years. As a reward for his fidelity to the cause of the Proprietary during Ingle's Rebellion, he was, in 1648, commissioned Muster Master General of the Province, "the fees to be as ample as any Muster Master General in Virginia." That he was as courageous as resourceful is shown by the fact that he served an attachment upon the whole of Leonard Calvert's estate, and demanded of that energetic administratrix, Mistress Margaret Brent, 45,600 pounds of tobacco and casks, and 100 barrels of corn as wages for himself and the soldiers under him, which amount had been pledged by Governor Calvert in his own name and that of his brother.

Very strenuous methods were at times required to provide victuals for the garrison, as there was a scarcity of corn (the staple food product in the Province), and it became necessary for Captain Price to apply to Governor Thomas Greene for relief, requesting him to take some speedy means to supply the want. The Assembly pursued a highhanded course in the matter, ordering that all corn in the possession of any person, more than was required for his family's use, should be "pressed" or requisitioned at the rate of 120 pounds of tobacco per barrel, and Sergeant

Pheypo was commissioned "to take up and press upon his Lordship's account for the use and maintenance of the Fort at St. Inigoes, five barrels of corn belonging to Cuthbert Fenwick, Gentleman, and others, and deliver it to Captain John Price at the said Fort."

The rule of the Calverts was beneficent and just, yet trouble arose on many occasions. The Assembly proceedings of 1650 record that, owing to the fear of accident to the Governor and the inhabitants "through the insolencies and pride of some evil-minded persons," it became necessary to assess all the colonists at the rate of one man for every five inhabitants of the Province for the repairing and reedifying of St. Inigoes Fort and giving the Governor the power to press six men with a captain or commander who should be supplied with food and necessary equipment to remain in the Fort as soldiers during the time of riding at anchor in the Potomac or St. George's River of any enemy craft." It had thus become expedient to acquire more powerful weapons of defense and the "reedifying," probably, consisted of the placing of cannon, of which there were five in number, at the Fort. A gunner for his pains in ordering and overseeing the work, and looking to and providing and fitting the guns and making them useful and ready for service, was to be allowed 1,000 pounds of tobacco for that year. Furthermore, a sharp watch was kept on all craft trading with the colonists, and none were allowed to enter the Bay of St. Mary's without being challenged by the sentry at Fort St. Inigoes, and required to conform to the following regulation adopted by the Assembly, viz.:

that all vessels having a deck or decks, flush fore and aft, coming in and trading with the Province shall pay to the said Fort half a pound of powder and two pounds of shot and a considerable quantity of 'match' . . . and all vessels trading in as aforesaid within the Potomac or St. George's Rivers, both at their coming in and their departure hence, shall ride two whole tydes before and within command of the said Fort and take discharge there hence only if complying with all orders.

When this Fort was abandoned we have no means of knowing. Of its inception history tells us little, and of its end, not one word. We can only conjecture that when the capital was removed to Annapolis and the Fort had survived its usefulness, it was allowed to fall into gradual decay and finally be submerged (with its cannon and other muniments of war) by the onrush of the tide.

There is nothing now to indicate its exact location; it has sunk into oblivion. The windmill has long since disappeared, the fine old manor house, destroyed by fire in 1872, is but a memory, replaced later by a much more modern structure, used as a Mission House by the Jesuit Fathers. Gone is its glory, almost forgotten its history. Not even a marker tells the wayfarer he treads on historic ground. Such is the fate of a spot, the peer of St. Mary's in geographical position, and second to it only in historical importance.

The only article of value saved from the destruction of old St. Inigoes' Manor House, is an elliptical mahogany table, said to have been the Provincial Council Table. It was bought by Rev. Father Carberry at the sale of Mr. George Campbell's effects, and is now in the reception room at Georgetown College.

Many years after the Capital had been removed from St. Mary's City to Annapolis, and the site of the old Fort had yielded to the ravages of the winds and waves, Captain Thomas Carberry, on a visit to his brother, a Jesuit priest in charge at St. Inigoes, in the year 1822, decided to raise the old cannon, by this time submerged in the river about 150 yards from the shore. This he accomplished by digging under the guns at low tide, placing chains underneath them, fastening the end to large scows so that when the tide rose, the cannon were lifted from the river bed and then towed to shore. There were five of these guns, three large and two small. Two of the former were subsequently removed to Georgetown, and the remaining large one was through the intercession of Col. William Coad, then in the Maryland Legislature, donated by Father Carberry to the State, and today is mounted on the southeast corner of State House terrace. The following is a copy of a letter of acceptance from Governor William Grason to Colonel Coad:

Annapolis, July 21, 1841

Dear Sir: In compliance with the request of the Legislature of Maryland, I communicate the following Resolution: "Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, that the State will accept the piece of ordnance presented by the Rev. Jos. Carberry, and that his Excellency, the Governor of Maryland, be requested to communicate this Resolution to him, and cause the same to be transported to the seat of Government, and placed in some suitable place within the entrance hall of the State House, and to draw on the Treasury for such amount as may be necessary to defray the expenses thereof." I have the pleasure to inform you that the piece of

ordnance presented by you to the State has been received at the seat of government, and that it will be placed in the State House in obedience to the wishes of the Legislature. I am, very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

Wm. Grason.

The two small cannon for years served as boundary posts between St. Inigoes Manor and Cross Manor, the latter a grant to Thomas Cornwalleys. In the Tercentenary Year of 1934 these small guns were removed to St. Mary's City where one is mounted on the banks of the St. Mary's River in front of the "State House," a replica of the original State House at St. Mary's City. The other was in such bad condition that it was placed within the west entrance of the "State House," where it lies today.

DIARY OF REUBEN DORSEY OF HOWARD COUNTY

By ROBERT C. SMITH

Among the old parish papers now in the custody of the rector of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church near Ellicott City, Howard County, is the farmer's diary kept by Reuben Merriweather Dorsey between 1842 and 1848. Mr. Dorsey, who was born in 1796 and died in 1880, was a vestryman of St. John's for a long period and, as he relates in his diary, held the post of treasurer for some twelve or fifteen years prior to his resignation in 1845. So closely were the Dorseys associated with St. John's during Reuben's lifetime that it was known locally as the Dorsey church or "Dorsey Heaven." The land had been given in 1825 by Reuben's father, Caleb Dorsey of Thomas (1747-1837) and his mother, Elizabeth Worthington Dorsey (1758-1840). In 1850 he himself gave the land and a house for the rectory, while other members of this prominent land-owning family of Howard and Ann Arundel Counties¹ generously contributed to the building and decoration of the church.

Reuben Dorsey's diary is written on 90 pages of a notebook which also contains records of pew rents between 1839 and 1843, a list of pew holders, and accounts of St. John's church which the author kept as treasurer. In addition there are brief notations of personal finances, points of law carefully copied, and frequent memoranda called "people's work" in which the thorough and successful farmer apportioned the day's work of half a dozen slaves. The diary also contains a number of drawings of animals, birds, a soldier, and family caricatures, probably the work of Dorsey children, along with some lines of mystifying doggerel

¹ For an account of the Dorsey family, though incomplete and not always accurate, see J. D. Warfield, *Founders of Ann Arundel and Howard Counties, Md.* (Baltimore, 1905).

in the hand of the diarist.² In all some 125 pages of heavy 12 x 18 inch paper are crowded with vigorously written, not too legible notes.

The mutilated condition of the notebook indicates that a number of pages have been lost. The part of the diary which is preserved begins on the 28th of December, 1842, and ends on the 18th of January, 1848. In 1843 the months of March, a part of April, November, and December are missing. The following year there are no entries from the end of February to the beginning of October. The years from 1845 to 1847, however, are complete.

During this period Mr. Dorsey, then in his late forties and early fifties, was living at his farm "Arcadia"³ with his second wife and cousin Achsah Riggs Dorsey, his young son Caleb, and his daughters, Ann Elizabeth, Achsah Reubena, Maria Louisa, known to the family as "Rydie," Josephine, and Sally, his only child by his first wife, Sarah Merriweather, who had died in 1821. In addition to "Arcadia," on which lies the picturesque Dorsey family graveyard surrounded by a thick stone wall, Reuben Dorsey was farming the neighboring property called "Buckman's" and the Hudson Farm on the Frederick turnpike nearby. In October, 1845, he bought from Benjamin Howard "Wyoming," which lay in back of "Arcadia," paying as he notes in his diary on the 5th the "monstrous price" of \$20,000. It was here that his eldest daughter Sally came to live after her marriage in 1847 to Dr. Samuel Owings Rogers, the handsome physician from West River. After Sally died in 1851 Josephine Dorsey and her husband, Anthony Morris Johnson, occupied "Wyoming," while her father continued to take a patriarchal interest in this fertile property until his death in 1880 at the age of 85.⁴

Reuben Dorsey kept a minute record of his life as a farmer.

² "I hasten to inform you that March is gone and April come
All jokes are free and all in fun
And she who reads this is a ninney
For she can't see Aunt Jinney
For she is off to old Ginco
Although my nose is not the go . . ."

³ The farmhouse of "Arcadia" can still be seen from the new U. S. Route 40 a short distance beyond St. John's Lane.

⁴ In preparing this paper I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Jacob S. Baer, a descendant of Reuben Merriweather Dorsey, and Miss Emily B. Mackubin of Howard County for invaluable information.

Only once does he mention the happenings of the outside world. In 1844 he voted for Clay and four days later learned at the bank in Ellicott City that Polk had been elected. The weather was his chief preoccupation. Day by day he noted the morning temperature, thus providing a clearer index of extremes of heat and cold for the winters than for the summers. During the whole period of his diary the lowest reading seems to have been only 8° above zero on December 21, 1845. On July 13 of that year, when the thermometer reached 98° he wrote he "never saw such heat." In entry after entry he would exclaim "Hot, hot, hot!" Snow was more frequent in those years than now, but it soon melted so that sleighing was always a rare pleasure. On these occasions as a special treat Mr. Dorsey would drive his girls over the snow to Mrs. Almira Phelps' Patapsco Female Institute on the heights above Ellicott City.⁵

There was a regular succession of dry and wet years. The summer of 1843 had unprecedented floods which damaged the peaches. Two years later came the inevitable drought. In October the diarist complained: "Was there ever such a dry time? Not a settled rain since last winter and not much of any other." But constant rains throughout the summer and autumn of 1846 damaged the crops again. The wheat was ruined and rose in price to \$1.08 a bushel, while the year before it had sold at 88 cents. It was dry again in 1847 until August, and the corn was eaten by worms. Such a record gives no support to those who argue that the Maryland climate is changing and the summers are growing steadily dryer.

The diary abounds in details of agriculture. Year by year Dorsey noted the day the peach trees and the cherries flowered. He recorded the planting and harvesting of his two crops of wheat, the "Mediterranean" and "blue stem," the winter threshing, and the great hog killings of December. It was usual for him to butcher 80 or 90 hogs at a time, bringing the animals to "Arcadia" from properties at Elkridge and Guilford. He followed the Dorsey taste for a hog not overly fat and always put away 8,000 pounds of meat for his family. In January he carefully records the cutting of ice from his pond which he generously shared with his 'in-laws.' He paid \$800 a year in taxes and

⁵ For a detailed account of this school see Emma L. Bolzau, *Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps; Her Life and Work*. (Lancaster, Pa., 1936.)

superintended in person every detail of the farming. Although he mentions occasionally his dealings with overseers, he tells with pride how he stayed close at home, rose at four in the summer mornings to work with the field hands and how, in August of 1846, during the terrible rains, he was "never so confined at home" by his work and spent six weeks on his place without interruption.

Reuben Dorsey's pleasure was in his family and in his shooting. Caleb, his only son, he adored and almost always mentioned him in capital letters, telling of the presents he received from his uncle Cale, including a "velocipee" bought in Baltimore and a first saddle and bridle. "Cale," who owned "Dorsey Hall" at Columbia and had no children, and a cousin, John Tolley Worthington Dorsey, were regular guests at Sunday dinner, after which Reuben delighted in showing them the cream of his crops on the hill below the graveyard. The Caleb Dorseys dined on Christmas at "Arcadia" on the oysters, raisins, and almonds fetched the day before from Baltimore, the turkeys and puddings and hams and, strangely enough, "corn beef." Other guests whom the Reuben Dorseys regaled with early peas and strawberries in their season were the rector of St. John's, the Reverend Hugh Harrison, and his wife; Miss Sally Ann Baer, the daughter of Reuben's sister Elizabeth Worthington Dorsey; George R. Gaither of "Bleak House," who had married a Dorsey of "Spring Hill"; and another sister Sarah and her husband, George Washington Waring, who lived at "Ellersley" in Baltimore County. There were also Dr. Arthur Pue of "Tamora" nearby, who was doubly a Dorsey, for he had married Mrs. Reuben Dorsey's sister and his mother had been one of the "Belmont" Dorseys, and finally the family of still another of Reuben's sisters, Susannah Brookes. Week after week groups of these relatives took dinner on Sunday at "Arcadia" and almost as frequently Mr. Dorsey visited them "in the evening."

When October came, the diarist and his men watched the skies for the first "gangs" of geese flying southward. They generally came about the 21st but one year they arrived sooner. This was a signal to prepare to go to the Dorsey duck blinds on Bay Island in the Back River or at Gunpowder Bridge in Harford County. The journey there and back took four days and Mr. Dorsey almost always invited some of his relatives who were good shots to go

along, especially his nephew James Brookes and his brother-in-law, Dr. Pue. These ducking parties continued on the average of twice a month until March. The shooting was never fabulous. Several times they saw a thousand fowl but came back almost empty handed. Forty ducks were considered a good bag. They never shot more than one or two geese or swans at a time. Among ducks Reuben Dorsey preferred his "elegant redheads" to canvasbacks. Sometimes, unable to go himself, he would send a Negro—Isaac, Andrew, Dick, or Mercer—to the blinds, for ducking was not merely a sport but an essential part of the winter economy at "Arcadia." The diary mentions no other form of hunting. In June the Dorseys always went fishing for white perch in the rocky waters at the Relay or Elkrige Landing.

Reuben Dorsey is never explicit about his finances, but he was known to be a wealthy man. He frequently tells of lending money to the farmers of the county and of going to Baltimore to consult his attorney Glenn⁶ about ground rents or the purchase of a dwelling. He went to the city once a month to buy seeds or farm implements not available in Ellicott City or to arrange to sell his pork, if possible at 4½ cents a pound. On these occasions he invariably visited his elder unmarried sister, Comfort Worthington Dorsey, at her house on Pleasant Street, and once he attended a party there and spent the night, but was home again in time for breakfast. Miss Dorsey was constantly being commissioned to make purchases for the family at "Arcadia." Bedsteads are mentioned in the diary, and feathers and clothing. Mr. Dorsey frequently bought "plated waiters" and other silver on his visits to the city. In 1847 he paid Kirk \$705 for a variety of articles. Seldom does he tell of taking any of his family along, but once in May of 1845 he and his beloved daughter AE (Ann Elizabeth, the future Mrs. William Dobbin of Baltimore) went to see Anderson⁷ play Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*. AE was delighted, of course, for it was her first visit to a theatre.

The quiet rural life of the diarist was seldom interrupted by wider traveling. He visited Annapolis once a year and in the summers made a brief pleasure journey. In 1845 between the

⁶ Presumably John Glenn (1795-1853), son of Judge Elias Glenn, of the District Court of the United States.

⁷ James (?) Anderson appeared at the Front Street Theatre for 4 appearances, May 8-12.

4th and the 19th of August Reuben Dorsey and his daughters, Sally and AE, Miss Baer, and another Dorsey girl went to Niagara Falls, having "as pleasant a journey as we expected." Mrs. Dorsey did not accompany them. The next year Washington was the scene of their diversions. This time Achsah Dorsey went too. She, AE and Reuben "and all Elkridge" took the train at the Relay on May 25th to visit the National Fair. "We saw many curiosities and returned the same day scorched and stewed up." In July, 1847, Mr. Dorsey went with a gay party of relatives to Cape May. AE and Sally, but not their mother, were included. A distinguished cousin, Judge Thomas Beale Dorsey of "Mt. Hebron," accompanied them.⁸

Each year Reuben Dorsey wrote of his sorrow upon the loss of kinsmen, Ligans, Dorseys, and Howards. Finally, in the winter of 1847, his own turn came. His young daughter Achsah Reubena died of a tragic illness. Day by day, after four doctors had failed in their efforts, he awaited her end with stoic but dramatic Victorian piety. After the funeral he wrote out Reubena's epitaph "That bud so sweet, so beautiful has drooped, has fallen to the ground . . ." which in slightly different form was carved upon her rose draped obelisk in the family burying ground at "Arcadia."

The diary of Reuben Merriweather Dorsey is essentially a record of his experiences as a farmer during the six years that the manuscript covers. It is only incidentally that he conveys impressions of life in Howard County a hundred years ago. His references to personalities are too meagre and his descriptions of the appearance of things are too rare to satisfy the social historian. But his diary does have the distinction of being a rare document for the region at the time he composed it. Unlike Frederick and Somers,⁹ Howard County never was represented in a 19th century novel. The diarists of Baltimore and Annapolis hardly ever visited it. As a result any personal record of what took place there, even in the laconic entries of a farmer's diary, is precious information. It is to be hoped that in the future private papers not now accessible will broaden our knowledge of the people and places of Howard County in the years before the Civil War.

⁸ Thomas Beale Dorsey (1780-1855) was Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals from 1848 to 1852.

⁹ These counties are the scenes of novels by George Alfred Townsend.

LETTERS FROM NICHOLAS HARWOOD, M. D., U. S. N.

PRISONER OF WAR IN TRIPOLI, 1803-'05

By EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

That history repeats itself is evidenced by letters written by a young Annapolitan over a hundred and forty years ago. They parallel in spirit countless letters written by 'affectionate but captive' sons of today's battle fronts. The same concern is felt for the anxiety of his family and friends—the same hope is expressed that a better 'berth' will be found for him on his return.

For many years the swift corsairs of the rulers of Algiers, Tunis, Morocco and Tripoli had preyed upon the merchantmen that passed their shores, capturing the vessels and enslaving or holding the crews for heavy ransom. Some of the European powers bought immunity by paying tribute to these pirate rulers, and in the two decades that followed the Revolutionary War, the young United States sent over \$2,000,000 to buy them off. In 1801 President Jefferson determined to use force against them with results too well known for re-telling.

Nicholas Harwood was the son of Nicholas Harwood, Clerk of the County Court of Anne Arundel County. The maiden name of his mother is not known, but her death is noted in the diary of William Faris,¹ watch and clockmaker and silversmith of Annapolis, who wrote in 1792, "March 29. Mrs. Harwood wife of Nich. Harwood was Buryed a very large company attended the funeral." Nicholas, junior, graduated from St. John's College in 1800. Three years later he was appointed surgeon's mate on the frigate *Philadelphia*, attached to Commodore Preble's squadron which was sent to the Mediterranean that summer to continue war against the pirates of the Barbary Coast. The captured crew of

¹ Extracts from the Diary of William Faris were printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1933.

the unfortunate *Philadelphia* were confined in the Castle at Tripoli for over nineteen months. The news of their release was the occasion for general rejoicing among the Annapolitans who celebrated the event on September 25, 1805, by a discharge of 18 guns, a parade and a drill of infantry and artillery on the College Green. Nicholas Harwood was promoted to surgeon in 1809. He died September 15, 1812.

The originals of the letters which follow were given to the Hammond-Harwood House Association by Mrs. John M. Green, whose husband's grandfather was Nicholas Harwood Green, a cousin of Nicholas Harwood, U. S. N. They are preserved at the Hammond-Harwood House, Annapolis.

Tripoli

Nov. 3, 1803

My Dear Brother ²

I can assure you the most melancholy circumstance has taken place this day or two which ever happened. On the 31st of October we were cruising off Tripoli and descried a Ship to windward we instantly gave chase and fired several shot to bring her too, but she keep on and Capt. Bainbridge³ being not acquainted with the coast, or at least no rocks being laid down in the Chart, we unfortunately run on a Rock and I can likewise assure you while there was any hopes we gallantly defended the Ship, but alas, we were obliged to strike our Colours, when we were boarded by a number of Tripolitans. They stripped us of Everything they could find even of the Clothes we had on our backs. Inform all my friends that as yet we are treated kindly and we are assured by the Danish Consul⁴ we shall be treated with humanity. I am in hopes that America will ransom us as soon as possible, But if our country should not redeem us, I

² Lewis Duvall (1776-1829) was a brother-in-law of Nicholas Harwood, having married Sarah (Sally) Harwood in 1800. He served as a member of the Governor's Council, 1806-'09 and represented Annapolis in the Legislature for ten years. He was Lieutenant Colonel in the 3rd Cavalry (Charles and Anne Arundel Counties), 1812-'15, and mayor of Annapolis, 1819-'22, residing at "Acton" at that time. He left a widow and seven children. Presumably 'little Louisa and Jane' were his eldest daughters. His youngest son, Marius Duvall, was appointed assistant surgeon in the Navy in 1841 and was Medical Director at the Naval Academy from 1871 till 1880. The letters of Nicholas Harwood had descended to him and were given to Mrs. John Green by Dr. Duvall's daughter, a cousin of Mr. Green.

³ William Bainbridge, U. S. N. (1774-1833) Commander of the *Philadelphia*; appointed commodore in 1812, and given command of the *Constitution*.

⁴ Nicholas C. Nissen. Mr. Nissen had been looking after the interests of the United States since 1801, when the American consul, James L. Cathcart, left Tripoli on the declaration of war against the U. S. by the Bashaw. Consul Nissen exerted himself in every way to relieve the prisoners and in 1806 was thanked by Congress for "his disinterested and benevolent attentions." The officers of the *Philadelphia* presented him with a silver urn.

request it as a particular favor that no exertion on the part of my friends to release me will be made. For never would I consent to leave my Brother Officers⁵ and Seaman in Bondage. I have written to my Father, possibly you have seen the letter. I request you will shew him this—and beg my sisters and brothers not to be alarmed on my account for considering I am a prisoner I am generously and humanely treated as could be expected.

Give my love to all my Friends

Your affectionate Brother

N. Harwood

How Does Louisa and Jane come on, are they well I hope so tell Sally to kiss them for me. Do not publish any letters that you see from me.

To Lewes Duvall Esquire
North America
Maryland
Annapolis Via Malta.

Tripoli Castle
May 21st 1804

My Dear Father⁶

Another opportunity offering, and being confident of the uncertainty of your getting my letters, I again re-assure you of my permanent confinement.

Seven months has now almost elapsed without receiving one solitary letter from you and I assure you our Ransome appears as far distant, if not more so than the first day our unfortunate and lamentable accident took place. No incidents occurring since that period, which assures our Ransom speedy, despondence appears in each and every countenance—But Stoics like we endeavor with our Soul to bear up against misfortune and the vicissitudes of life.

We have had newspapers from America which announce the dessolution of much esteemed and regreted Uncle John.⁷ I lament most sincerely

⁵ The *Philadelphia* carried a crew of 307. David Porter (1780-1843) was a first lieutenant. He was the father of Admiral David Dixon Porter. John Ridgely of Annapolis, graduate of St. John's College, 1796, was surgeon. He remained in Tripoli as chargé d' affaires after peace was declared, June 4, 1805. He resigned from the Navy in 1808 and practiced medicine in Annapolis. Jonathan Cowdery, surgeon's mate, lived to be the senior surgeon of the Navy.

⁶ Nicholas Harwood (1747-1810) was the seventh son of Richard and Anne (Watkins) Harwood of South River, Anne Arundel Co. He was authorized by the Council of Safety to sign bills of credit and paper currency issued in Annapolis during the Revolutionary War.

⁷ a. Possibly John Harwood, b. 1744, who married Mary Hall, daughter of Major Henry Hall, though no notice of this death is found in the *Maryland Gazette*,

his unfortunate Death especially on account of his leaving a Wife with numerous and I might almost say unprotected children.

But I relinquish this subject and repeat that my misfortunes and unhappy destiny prays so totally on my own mind that I have not opportunity to sympathize with others, But, I hope from this you will not think I am wanting in the sympathetic ties of consanguinity when your own goodness of heart will tell you that we feel our own was more poignant than we feel for others.

Yesterday for the first time I had the pleasure of walking to his Excellency the Bashaws⁸ gardens. I can say nothing as to the regularity or order of them, nor as to the vegetation, but the great profusion of Orange and Lemon Trees are truly pleasant—that is to satisfy the appetite but not to please the imagination. The Palaces I had not an opportunity of seeing, but I am led to believe they are of the true oriental stile, that is elegant and neat. He has likewise an elegant, superb Fish Pond which abound and contain nothing but Gold and Silver Fish.

I have no more to say—You know the immurity of a prison affords very little matter for a letter and I feel my impotence daily. Give love to my Sisters and Brothers, to Aunts Peggy⁹ and Molly¹⁰ tell James and Harry to be Studious and attentive to the different avocations in Study. I hope little Louisa and Jane are well and promise to be fine girls. Tell L. Duvall I have written to him frequently since my captivity and likewise tell him I expect there will be a vacancy for Surgeon before my arrival in America he will be so good as to write to Mr. G. Duval¹¹ on that subject immediately. I feel full confidence in myself to undertake the Berth of Surgeon. The menial situation of a Surgeon's Mate makes it absolute to change my situation as speedily as possible. Give my best to Uncle Ben¹² and Shaaff¹³ Tell Thomas and Harry to write me every opportunity.

I remain yr affectionate but captive son

N. Harwood.

1803-'04. b. The issue of Oct. 27, 1803, announces, between heavy mourning bands, the death of John Callahan, Esqr., Register of the Land Office for over twenty-five years, who may have been a brother of Mrs. Harwood, or called 'uncle' by courtesy. He married Sarah Buckland (daughter of William Buckland, the architect of the Hammond-Harwood House) by whom he had four daughters. Their eldest daughter, Sally, married Richard Harwood, a cousin of Nicholas Harwood. Portraits of the Callahan family painted by Charles Willson Peale were found in the attic of the Hammond-Harwood House.

⁸ Yusuf Caramanli succeeded his father as Bashaw (pasha) of Tripoli in 1796 and reigned many years.

⁹ Possibly Mrs. Margaret (Strachan) Harwood, wife of Thomas Harwood, whose portrait by C. W. Peale is owned by the Metropolitan Museum.

¹⁰ Possibly Mary Harwood, b. 1753, only sister of Nicholas Harwood, Sr.

¹¹ Gabriel Duvall (1752-1844) judge of the General Court of Maryland, 1796-1802; comptroller of the U. S. Treasury and in 1811 appointed associate judge of the U. S. Supreme Court, an office he held until 1836.

¹² Benjamin Harwood (1751-1826) succeeded his elder brother, Thomas, as treasurer of the State of Maryland.

¹³ The illegible abbreviation may be "Ar" or "Dr"—the former would design-

N. B. If you should see Richard Chase ¹⁴ remember me to him.

To Nicholas Harwood Esquire
Annapolis
Maryland
North America

[27 cents postage]

nate Arthur Shaafl, a member of the House of Delegates, who purchased Governor Paca's mansion, now Carvel Hall Hotel, and lived there; the latter for Dr. John Thomas Schaafl (1752-1819), treasurer of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, 1799-1801, who practiced in Annapolis before moving to Georgetown, D. C., in 1802.

¹⁴ Richard Moale Chase (1784-1840) was the son of Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase of the Maryland Court of Appeals. He married Mathilde Green, a daughter of Frederick Green, publisher of the *Maryland Gazette* and printer to the state of Maryland.

BOOK REVIEWS

Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book, 1766-1824. With Relevant Extracts from His Other Writings. Annotated by EDWIN MORRIS BETTS. (Vol. XXII, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*). Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944. \$5.00.

"I have often thought that if Heaven had given me the choice of my position and calling, it should have been on a rich spot of earth well watered. . . . No occupation is so delightful to me as the culture of the earth, and no culture comparable to that of the garden." So wrote Thomas Jefferson to Charles Willson Peale, straight from the heart. In his words lies a wistfulness recalling to this reviewer a recent conversation in which he heard a keen student of Jefferson's life and character dwell on his shyness, his self-distrust in his relations with people, and the torment of spirit caused him by the fierce political and ideological battles in which he was constantly involved. If this estimate is correct, as seems likely, one need look no farther for explanation of the quality of happiness given forth so strongly by this volume. In it we see Jefferson soothed and serene in the goodly company of growing things—planting, planning, discussing farm problems, exchanging seeds and plants with correspondents at the ends of the earth, inventing, improvising, measuring, weighing and forgetting the perversity with which the race of man so often met his schemes for its betterment.

The title of this book, so admirably assembled by Dr. Betts under a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society, falls so short of telling the whole story as to be almost misleading. The garden diary itself, with its laconic entries and long lapses, is only the tiny fertilising nucleus around which is built an imposing structure of notes, letters, quotations, extracts from memorandum books and other pertinent material chronologically arranged. Although the editor hews close to the line of Jefferson's botanical and agricultural concerns, the careful reader will emerge at the end almost dizzied by the Third President's whirling energy of mind, his consuming curiosity and the cosmopolitanism of his interests. With all this he escapes superficiality. That shrewd and disillusioned observer, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who punctured many humbugs in his travels through America, had no fault to find with the master of Monticello. While visiting that estate in 1796 the Duke noticed that Jefferson was countering the erosion of his steep hill-sides with contour-plowing—a practice firmly believed today to have been fathered by Mr. Henry Wallace on the A. A. A.—and working out

improvements of his own on an English threshing machine. Jefferson himself ranked his agricultural and botanical innovations alongside the writing of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the University of Virginia. "The greatest service which can be rendered any country," he declares, "is to add a useful plant to its culture."

J. G. D. PAUL

Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet. By REMBERT W. PATRICK. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. x, 401 pp. \$3.75.

As a judge in a biennial award on American history topics this reviewer passes on many collegiate dissertations, practically all of which illustrate the seminar technique of paragraph by paragraph, or even sentence by sentence, citation. This does not make for "popular" reading; also it is natural that the disquisitions of neophytes should fail to display the general grasp that stems from contacts through the years. For one thing, the current trend in overdoing newspaper sources tends to the presentation of dubious or negative values, except for those independently able to weigh the evidence or examine the credibility of the witnesses.

These prefatory remarks seem desirable here because *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet* is distinctly out of the ordinary. The author relied less on hastily written editorial and reportorial comment and more on inner sources, such as personal papers and documents. Research, and especially comparative analyses, in simultaneously passing on the careers of several personalities, broadened his field so that he was enabled to offer, for the benefit of the reader, definite conclusions. Employing a sincerely meant, though somewhat hackneyed phrase, this volume is a valuable contribution to American historiography. Besides displaying technical excellence in execution, the work has literary style and a grasp rarely found in papers prepared for the doctoral climax.

By and large, the sole generality of a critical nature here advanced is one common to nearly all works pertaining to the period leading up to the War of Secession, which is a failure to recognize the distinction between the attitude of the Lower South and that of the upper tier of States that ultimately joined the Confederacy.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

Georgetown Houses of the Federal Period. Washington, D. C., 1780-1830. By DEERING DAVIS, A. I. D., STEPHEN P. DORSEY and RALPH COLE HALL. Foreword by NANCY McCLELLAND, A. I. D. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1944. 130 pp. \$5.00.

It is not hard to agree with the authors that Georgetown, D. C., is "unique" in its "self entity within the great capital that now surrounds it." It has preserved, according to them, 25% of the structures erected

before 1825—an unusually large number. Many of them are of the urban, street-front type, as distinguished from the larger, farther separated houses such as are found in some profusion in Annapolis. It is the unusual fate which has fallen upon Georgetown which gives it this unique quality. More fine houses of the urban type were built in any one of a number of large towns, such as Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, but the march of "progress" has eliminated most of them, and those that remain have lost most of their charm. Commercial "progress" did not strike Georgetown, except in a very limited way. It preserved its identity, in spite of its incorporation into Washington and the unfortunate change of the colorful names of its streets to conform to the drab alphabetical system.

The book is therefore timely. There were two ways to present the subject: first, the pictorial and written record of authentic examples; or second, from the point of view of the American Institute of Decorators, who have sponsored the book, the record of recent efforts to adapt these old houses to modern living. The authors have not adhered to either aspect: the book is a mixture of the two. The Foreword and the chapters on the Historical Background and on the Federal Architecture of Georgetown are well presented. The chapter on William Thornton is less fortunate. The early architectural history of Washington is still a very controversial one. The architects themselves were often indiscreet and bitter in their criticism of rivals. Thornton was as guilty of this fault as Latrobe. The question of their relative greatness is a doubtful one and has no place in this book. The authors, however, after admitting that there is no proof of Thornton's being the architect of more than one Georgetown house, undertake to establish him as "without doubt, the leader of the triumvirate of great architects of this area during the Federal period." Surely the fame of Latrobe, who carried through the original capitol to practical completion, preserving Thornton's ideas except where they were impractical, is well established through his work, both public and private, comprising many known examples in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and the District of Columbia. He deserves better "lasting notice" than being "famous for his quarrels with Thornton" and for being the author of certain minor architectural details in the capitol.

The photographs are very good, with excellent details of entrances, iron rails, etc. Many of the smaller houses are quite like the rapidly dwindling Baltimore examples. Its is particularly pleasant to see the gardens, which are hidden from the eyes of the ordinary visitor. Many of the interiors are interesting; but in some cases, such as that on p. 65, where a modern painted over-mantel decoration is shown, whose purpose is to "nullify the effect of two modern wall lights," the decorative enthusiasm of the authors has carried them rather far afield. In some of the photographs we are left in some doubt about what is authentic and what is reproduction. The street-by-street list with which the book closes, giving brief descriptions and history of the houses of the period which still exist, should serve as a valuable record. The book is a substantial contribution to the limited literature on American architecture.

THOMAS MACHEN

Firearms of the Confederacy[.] *The Shoulder Arms, Pistols and Revolvers of the Confederate Soldier, including the Regular United States Models, the Imported Arms and Those Manufactured within the Confederacy.* [By] CLAUDE E. FULLER and RICHARD D. STEUART. Huntington, West Virginia: Standard Publications, Inc., 1944. 333 pp. \$12.50.

Once a reader plunges deeply into the study of the Civil War, he may emerge but he never will shake off his interest. The struggle fascinates anyone who goes beyond the barest summary of its events. The reasons are varied and disputable; the reality is solid and surprising. A large and enthusiastic audience awaits any man who writes in a manner even reasonably interesting on almost any aspect of the War between the States. Thus far the Confederate side of the story has commanded the larger audience. The history of the organization, command and achievements of the Union armies will be equally interesting if written according to the modern techniques from materials now rich and abundant.

Vast as is the accumulated literature, it is far from complete. A student has a large stock of books from which to choose when he wishes to read of the battles, but he looks in vain for adequate works on the civil government, on the work of Congress, on the difficulties the States encountered during the war years, and, perhaps most of all, on the operations of those branches of the War Department that kept the armies "in being." Most of the military historians have been so intent on strategy or so much interested in personalities that they have not found space to explain how arms were procured, how ammunition was provided, how quartermaster stores were accumulated, how food was or was not made available, and how the feeble transportation of the South was operated, overtaxed, neglected in maintenance and, at the last, brought to ruin. The lifetime of a well-furnished scholar might be devoted to these subjects. Concerning them a dozen useful and successful books could be published.

Some of the possibilities of these neglected aspects of the history of the Civil War are presented in the work of Fuller and Steuart on "Firearms of the Confederacy." Nothing like it has ever been attempted; nothing written on the subject hereafter can disregard this volume. Messrs. Fuller and Steuart do not present their book as an inclusive history of Confederate armament, though they publish several valuable documents and not a little official correspondence. Both these gentlemen are collectors. Between them they have excellent, well-kept models of virtually all the small arms the Confederates are known to have used. It has been the delight of the two authors to establish the origin and then to classify and describe the shoulder arms, the pistols and the revolvers. By admirable photographs and concise, exact summaries, they show the entire arsenal of the South. If there are omissions, only an expert and a lucky collector will ever know of them.

As their collections grew, Messrs. Fuller and Steuart probably were amazed to discover from how many sources the Confederates drew arms.

No less amazing was the speed with which a region ill supplied with mechanics and with machinery was able to attain what was, for the times, large scale production. The first year of hostilities was in these respects much the most difficult. Without the weapons and the powder seized at Federal forts, armories and arsenals in the seceding States, the Confederacy could not have waged war. Arms captured on Bull Run in July, 1861, helped to relieve the cruel, initial shortage. On Nov. 13, 1861, the blockade-runner Fingal arrived at Savannah with about 10,000 Enfield rifles. Hers was the first cargo sent to the Confederacy by the able purchasing agent, Caleb Huse, who was scouring European markets for surplus weapons. Even with his best efforts and heaviest pressure on carriers, it seemed doubtful in the winter of 1861-62 whether the Confederacy would have sufficient arms for battle or the powder with which to fire them. Relief did not come until the Seven Days Battles around Richmond yielded as booty good Union shoulder weapons for many regiments and the best of contemporary field guns for batteries. Continued victories, especially those of August, 1862, tided over the shortage till Southern manufactories were in full production. Thereafter, the main effort was to produce or to import better ordnance as a means of reducing the disadvantage suffered in 1861-62 because of short-range, less effective arms and ammunition. So inferior were most Southern weapons in the early campaigns that every success was doubly creditable.

This, in barest outline, is a story every reader, grateful for their valuable pioneer work, will hope Messrs. Stuart and Fuller elaborate.

DOUGLAS SOUTHAL FREEMAN.

Belle Boyd, Confederate Spy. By LOUIS A. SIGAUD. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1944. 254 pp. \$3.00.

Cutting through the haze of mystery which has clouded this "Confederate in Crinoline," the true picture of Belle Boyd, famous Southern Agent of Civil War days is brought into strong focus by Col. Sigaud in his fascinating narrative on her amazing life. In a most convincing manner he dispels all of the carefully cultivated beliefs that Belle's existence is purely imaginative. Moreover, he proves that her charm and sensitive manner was coupled with a keen intellect and an enthusiasm for her cause to make her the most feared of all Southern agents operating within the Northern lines.

Lurid denunciations in hostile newspapers, colorful camp tales retold in many circles, and flamboyant articles and stories of the post-war period presented her in as many varied types of roles. Col. Sigaud has attempted to enumerate evidence in her favor to counteract accepted beliefs and statements of earlier origin. This is interwoven in the main body of the narrative in contrast with the more familiar form of presentation in appendices.

Related to several of the oldest Southern families—the Boyds, Van Meters, Burns, Reeds, Stephensons, Glenns, Bells and others—Belle, a

native of Martinsburg (then in Virginia) was sent to Baltimore in 1856, at the age of twelve, to attend the Mount Washington Female College, directed by the Reverend George Lewis Staley, D. D., who had started the school in May of that year. She completed a four year course there with emphasis on French, classical literature, music and singing. At sixteen, she made her entry into the social life of Washington and was often a guest at the residence of Secretary of War Floyd, who, soon after, became a Confederate general.

In another year, she had thrown herself actively in with the Southern forces, riding as courier for "Stonewall" Jackson and Turner Ashby, and bringing badly needed quinine through the Northern lines. It was during this period that she became acquainted with Maryland's Harry Gilmor, serving at that time in the Seventh Virginia Cavalry with her uncle. During her activities later she reported to him much of the information she obtained in watching enemy activity. Years later he praised her courage and devotion to the cause.

Twice a prisoner in the "Old Capitol," she tormented her jailors and aided her fellow prisoners who later presented her with a watch as an indication of their devotion. Though Secretary of War Stanton wished her dead, Lincoln was lenient, and she was sent south under penalty of death if she returned.

She denounced General Ben Butler at Fortress Monroe for his reputed treatment of Southern prisoners and there found herself quartered with the Misses Lomax, sisters of General Lomax, and Miss E. W. Goldsborough, all of Baltimore. Miss Goldsborough, "beautiful and refined, had been detected in correspondence with 'rebels' and sentenced to banishment." They returned to Richmond as kindred companions after the ordeal. On her arrival, she was jubilantly received by all of Southern society who knew of her and her work. On board a blockade runner with writer E. A. Pollard, she was captured with dispatches for London. A young Union ensign guarding her soon became infatuated with her charm and later became her husband in a most unusual courtship; she used him to aid in the escape of a Confederate Naval Captain, causing his dismissal. He did not let this deter his devotion and they were happy together until his death.

Thus, with this presentation of documented proof of Belle Boyd's character and activities, her place in history as one of the most famous of women spies has been secured for all times.

E. M. STRAUSS, JR.

200 Dishes For Men to Cook. By ARTHUR H. DEUTE. New York: Barrows & Co. [1944]. 254 pp. \$2.00.

For too long now American men have been at the mercy of the vicious characters who write and publish the recipes and model menus featured in certain of the ladies' magazines. Suspicious thoughts of the commercial tie-up between the malefactors who are responsible for the receipts and the advertisers of remedies for stomach disorders are inevitable.

At last, however, a book has been published (the author is a Baltimore businessman, epicure and amateur chef) which gives a true idea of what men who have some conception of a sound meal and some respect for their stomachs really like to eat. Mr. Deute's collection of recipes is for men who enjoy tossing a salad or concocting a stew; it is also for the man who wants to live to a reasonable age, and who likes to think of dinner as an hour of pleasure rather than as twelve minutes of refueling.

200 Dishes For Men to Cook has a distinctly cosmopolitan flavour, the recipes having been gathered with care from all parts of Europe and America. Included are exotic specialties originating in Mexico, New England, Denmark, Armenia, New Orleans, Florida, France, The West Indies, Baltimore, Portugal, Romania and Highlandtown. All the dishes are soundly conceived, all are simply explained, and many are particularly appropriate in this trying period when many of our favorite foods are expensive in both money and ration points.

Mr. Deute is, of course, not uninterested in the great gastronomic tradition of Maryland and Baltimore. His recipes for "Crab Soup, Maryland," for "Pork Chops, Eastern Sho'," and for "Crab Cakes, Baltimore," among many others, have an authentic air, and are simple and practical. The use of "the meat of crab from cans," which practice Mr. Deute admits "must not be mentioned to a native of the Free State" does sound frightening, but may be all right for those who want to take the chance.

The male citizen of Maryland who, in the approved tradition of his state, enjoys eating heartily and well, will, whether he actually enjoys practicing the art of cookery or not, certainly want a copy of Mr. Deute's book either in his own library or in his wife's.

RICHARD CARL MEDFORD

*The Municipal Museum,
Baltimore.*

A Study of Personal and Social Organization: An Explorative Survey of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By FRANK GOODWIN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. x, 197 pp. \$3.00.

This study purports to "reveal what cultural patterns and values promote and abet personal adjustment" or "sound *psyche*" by analyzing "an adjusted group of old line stock in an area where the tempo of change is not swift and unpredictable." It purports to show that the Eastern Shore is a "way of life," that the "high degree of personal and social organization encountered was . . . closely associated with a relatively small number of fundamental circumstances"; namely: a stable population, attachment to the land and its agricultural pursuits, with a firm basis in the family centered in small towns, leadership of the average man whose social values are mirrored in the county weekly newspaper. It is disappointing because in the folksy, whimsical report of the survey, Mr. Goodwin seems unable to organize the results of his statistical manipulations.

A selected group of "professional" people were asked to list the five most influential people. The morticians and the teachers seem to have done some statistical stuffing by picking more leaders than they were entitled to. Furthermore, while the author seems to recognize that there are unequal possibilities in selecting different vocations, he says (p. 161), "the fact still stands, . . . that the people regard the small local business man . . . as the leader of the community." But do they? I have roughly checked the possibilities of choice, and his figures seem to indicate that judges, newspaper editors, lawyers, clergymen, and teachers are ahead of business men as leaders. That would make less reliable his more restricted polling of the twenty-five leaders chosen by the professional group. It would also bring the occupation of leader more in line with that of the *Who's Who* volumes studied. There is no statistical indication of what leadership the mass of the population recognize as such. No regular reader of county weeklies would accept the peregrinations of "society" as reported therein as typical of the county as a whole.

Chapter V entitled "Mobility—A Measure: a Result: A Cause of Organization" is the longest (35 p.) in the book. The heart of the chapter is a study of questionnaires filled out by 3,858 high school students out of 6,341 in the schools surveyed; that is, 60% responded. There is no hint of the views of the other 40% nor of the status of the same age group not in high school. There are probably 3,000 not in high school. But to go on. 165 blanks were studied from Kent County, but there were probably around 600 of high school age in the county. Now 65% of those studied had three generations of the family born in the county. Was there the same percentage of the others? Mr. Goodwin doesn't tell us. But he does say the land records of Kent County show that 48% of the white tracts and 75% of the Negro tracts show stable ownerships of over ten years. He then "verifies" the percentage of the three generations born in the same county by the percentages of land-owners holding over 10 years! Is he measuring stability in terms of decades or generations?

Ethnocentrism is no monopoly of the rural good life, nor is personal and social organization necessarily tied in with employment in the extractive industries, however essential they may be. All that Mr. Goodwin implies about the lack of disorganization may be true of the Shore, but his survey does not show it. The 3% of my life that I spent there was more rewarding. And I wish he had tabulated the so-called indices of disorganization (p. 3) however negligible they may be.

CLARK T. WISOTZKI.

Enoch Pratt Free Library.

Margaret Brent: Adventurer. By DOROTHY FREMONT GRANT. New York: Longmans, Green, 1944. 293 pp. \$2.50.

It has not often been the policy of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* to review novels. *Margaret Brent: Adventurer*, however, is of such caliber as to warrant an exception. Its heroine is closely allied with the early

history of Maryland, her story is of the kind that best lends itself to vivid narrative, and the author makes such good use of her sources that Mrs. Grant's book justifiably finds a mention within these pages. Though a novel, this book is by no means fiction. Mrs. Grant has woven the results of her research into a vigorous and exciting account of her heroine and, at the same time, has written an illuminating narrative, which, in the final analysis, more by the portrayal of facts than by any conscious persuasion, becomes a real plea for toleration. For she makes the position of Catholics under the English penal code, the foil for the Brents' settling in Maryland.

The name of Mistress Margaret appears well over a hundred times in the records of the Provincial Court between 1642 and 1649. None the less, she remains a most elusive figure. Though famous for her litigations, her demand for a vote in the Assembly, and her position as sole executrix of Leonard Calvert's will, Margaret Brent is still the despair of historians and biographers because of the paucity of information about most of her life. She deserves to be better known. It is, then, fitting that a novelist who can use the bare facts of history as well as Dorothy Fremont Grant essay the task. Though taking the freedom to which a novelist is entitled, the author has kept the main body of facts straight; yet the story is told in a manner as to enliven the cold facts of the record. Margaret Brent and her goodly company move through the exciting days of Maryland's early history with a clarity and vividness that will make her better known to and appreciated by the general public.

JOHN J. TIERNEY, S. S.

*St. Charles College,
Catonsville, Md.*

Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C., 1942-1943. Volume 44-45. Edited by NEWMAN F. MCGIRR. Washington, D. C.: Published by the Society, 1944. 392 pp. Index.

This latest volume of the publications of a society of which, in view of past experience, we are led to expect matter of the best quality, fully measures up to expectations. Of especial interest to the Maryland antiquarian is William Ewen Richardson's "Colonial Houses in West River Hundred." The opening article, by the late Allen Culling Clarke, is an entertaining account of the life of a famous Washington beauty, Peggy (O'Neal) Eaton (at one time, to her sorrow, Mrs. Buchignani) who caused no little bickering and bitterness in high places and ended her days in undeserved poverty. "Early British Diplomats in Washington," by Charles O. Paullin, is a valuable contribution, which is pleasingly illustrated with a number of pencil drawings of old Washington mansions. Another important contribution and likewise well illustrated is H. Paul Caemmerer's "The Sesquicentennial of the Laying of the Cornerstone of the United States Capitol." This reviewer was particularly well impressed by Gibbs Myers' "Pioneers of the Federal Area," a penetrating, humorous and enlightening study of the original component parts of Washington social classes and races.

WILLIAM B. MARYE.

NOTES AND QUERIES

HONORARY MEMBERSHIP CONFERRED ON MR. DIELMAN

Mr. Louis H. Dielman, editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* from 1910 through 1937, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society at the regular Meeting on February 5th, 1945. The motion to elect Mr. Dielman to this position was made by the Honorable Samuel K. Dennis, retired Chief Judge of the Baltimore Supreme Bench, and seconded by Mr. Robert Garrett. It was carried by acclamation. Judge Dennis's remarks were as follows:

"I should like to nominate as Honorary Member of the Society a man who has been unstinting in his work for its welfare.

"Mr. Louis H. Dielman has been a member of the Society since 1905, a member of the Committee on the Library since 1910 and chairman of that committee since 1914. What this long and devoted service has meant to the Society is too well known to constant users of the Library and the Society's publications to need comment. Mr. Dielman's remarkable knowledge of Maryland history and of individuals who contributed to that history, his skill in unraveling genealogical and historical puzzles, his meticulous accuracy and his sound judgment have been continuously at the command not only of members of the Society but of any who sought his advice.

"For many years, Mr. Dielman has purchased books and manuscripts for the Society out of his own pocket because the Society has rarely been able to afford the items it needed. In the aggregate the total of these purchases runs to a large figure—there are certainly many hundreds and perhaps thousands of volumes and documents which the Society owes to Mr. Dielman's generosity and watchfulness.

"Perhaps the crowning gift which Mr. Dielman has made to the Society was the presentation last summer of the Biographical Card Index, jokingly referred to as the "Dielman Morgue," a collection of nearly 100,000 cards which supply information about deceased Marylanders, together with filing cases to contain them. This index can never be duplicated, and it will always stand as a monument to Mr. Dielman's knowledge, industry and affection for the Society."

STEVENS GENEALOGY

The recent publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (XXXIX, 4, Dec. 1944) of "Among the Meeters at the Bayside" has brought forth a suggestion that the Stevens chart, accompanying the article (p.

343) is in error in showing the wife of William Stevens as Magdaline Gary, daughter of Stephen Gary. The author has reexamined his evidences for the statement with the conclusion, which he is very glad to acknowledge, that the wife of William Stevens, while certainly Magdaline, in every probability was not Magdaline Gary, but in some probability was Magdaline Hodges, stated in the text (p. 342) to be the opinion of some. There is evidence that William Stevens when he came into the province brought with him his wife, Magdaline. (Early Settlers' List.) Also, examination of the will of Stephen Gary (Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, III, 2), reflects that Stephen Gary had a daughter Magdaline and had close ties with the Stevens family. The daughter, Magdaline, married into the family of Warren, as has been said by those who have called attention to the error in the preceding article. (Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County*, p. 288.)

Before leaving the Stevens family let it be recorded that several intimate glimpses of the early generations are to be found in Col. Oswald Tilghman's *History of Talbot County*—how the first William Stevens had land both in Dorchester and in Talbot, how William Stevens, Jr., crossed the Choptank and settled on the Stevens land in Talbot almost if not quite within the town of Oxford, and later acquired this land, how in Talbot by 1685, with William Sharp and Ralph Fishbourne, he became one of the three Quakers among the ten Justices of the County, and how, on the lighter side, Henry Callister, the bon-vivant of musical talent or inclinations, referred to him or to his father in a letter to Mr. Tear of Douglas:

"I have had the pleasure of playing a tune with Billy Stevens. He has lost a great deal of his musical capacity. However, his performance was found sufficient to ravish and surprise some of our top men . . . we abound in fiddlers, but most wretched ones they are . . . as to other English tunes they murder them here ten times worse than the county fiddlers in the Island. It is, however, diverting to hear how they do it. . . ."

We learn also that William Stevens, Sr., was a Manxman, as perhaps also was his wife, Magdaline, who had come with him to Maryland.

EMERSON B. ROBERTS.

De lè Brooke Manor—A member, Mr. L. McCormick-Goodhart, has sent the Society a short printed chronology compiled by him of events relating to Robert Brooke and his manor of De lè Brooke in St. Mary's County. Mr. McCormick-Goodhart will be glad to forward a copy to any member who applies to him at "Langley Park," Hyattsville, Route 1, Maryland.

Presbyterian Jaunt on the Eastern Shore—The diary of Isaac Van Bibber printed in a recent issue of this *Magazine*, had its Presbyterian counterpart in the journal of the Rev. William MacKay Tennent, which appeared

in the September, 1944, number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*. Mr. Tennent, grandson of the founder of the famous "Log College" and himself pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Abington, Pennsylvania, was commissioned to solicit donations in behalf of the Trustees of the General Assembly. During October, November and December, 1800, he travelled through Delaware and down the Eastern Shore of Maryland, visiting Princess Anne, Georgetown and numerous private homes. The record of his trip is not thrilling, but it does contain some glimpses of local scenes. What probably counted most with Mr. Tennent was the fact that he procured pledges for \$1,476, of which only \$37 remained uncollected a year later.

Peachey (Péché) Lineage—It is rare to find any record of the name of the wife or the place of burial of the Norman knights in England who came with the Conqueror, with the exception of the few earls and the great barons. The following quotation from the Cartulary of the Abbey of Ramsey, once a large and beautiful abbey, now a ruin, has been translated from the Latin. It gives us not only the name of the wife of William Pecche I, but his place of burial in the Church of St. Benedict of Ramsey Abbey, which was on the border of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire:

"1088—Herbert Abbot of Ramsey grants to William Pecche the Lands of Ofra [Over] Cambridgeshire for 1000 marks of gold at entry and 4 pounds of pence yearly and 100s. for his soul to the church of Ramsey, where he shall have burial. Alfwen his wife shall conditionally hold the land for her life after his death." (Ramsey Chartul. I—120, II—258.)

Alfwen seems to have been granddaughter of Beornoth, Earl of Essex, and Aelflaed, younger daughter of Aelfgar, Earl of the Wilsaetas. Leo-flaed, daughter of Beornoth and Alfaed, married Oswig and had issue: (1) Aelfwen, supposed wife of William Pecche I; (2) Aelfswith; (3) Leofward m. Lustwine, a high noble and benefactor of Ely Monastery. Many Norman knights of the Conquest were married to Saxon heiresses in England.

EDWIN PECK,
32 E. 39th St., New York.

Lusby-Watkins—Wanted: Ancestry, dates and places of birth and death of Samuel Lusby and his wife, Elizabeth Watkins, who were married in Anne Arundel Co., Md., 1 March, 1791, and had issue:

1. Sarah Ann Lusby, born 25 March, 1793, Anne Arundel County, died 18 Nov. 1871, Washington, D. C.
2. Anne Lusby, born 29 Jan., 1795, Anne Arundel Co.
3. Edward (or Edmund) C. Lusby, born 23 Feb., 1797, Davidsonville, Anne Arundel Co.
4. Gassaway C. Lusby, born 25 Dec., 1798, Davidsonville, died 23 May, 1824, Jackson, Miss.

5. James Lusby, born 4 July, 1803, Anne Arundel Co., died 22 July, 1866, Washington, D. C., buried Glenwood Cemetery, Washington, married 16 Nov., 1837, Washington, D. C., to Adaline (Wineberger Williams, daughter of Jacob and Margaret [Boose] Wineberger).

A Bible record gives the name "Edmund" for the third child, while the records of All Hallows Parish at Davidsonville give the name "Edward." Samuel and Elizabeth (Watkins) Lusby were living at Davidsonville when their two children Edward (or Edmund) Lusby and Gassaway C. Lusby were born, and are thought to have been living at Annapolis when their last child, James Lusby, was born. James Lusby appears to have come to Washington, D. C., between 1834 and 1837.

ALLEN M. ERGOOD,
6223 Ninth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Hanson-Matthews—Who were the parents of Ann Matthews, who married Benedict Hollis Hanson, December 27, 1807, in St. John and St. George Parish, Baltimore and Harford County?

AQUILLA BROWN HANSON,
700 West 40th Street, Baltimore 11, Md.

Sevier-Hawkins—John Sevier (1745-1815), 1st Gov. of Tenn., married 1st in Frederick Co., Va., 1760-1, Sarah Hawkins, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Marlin) Hawkins. They had 10 children: Joseph b. 1762; James b. 25 Oct. 1764; John, Jr., b. 20 Jan. 1766; Elizabeth b. 1768, m. Maj. Wm. Clarke; Sarah b. July 1770, m. Judge Benj. Brown; Maryan b. 1771-2, m. 1st Samuel Mays; 2nd Joshua Carland; Valentine b. 1773; Richard b. 1775—no issue; Rebecca b. 1778, m. John Waddell; Nancy b. spring of 1780, m. Walter King.

Information is wanted concerning the descendants of Gov. John and Sarah (Hawkins) Sevier.

Hawkins-Marlin (Marley, Merley, Merlin, etc.)—Joseph Hawkins appeared in Frederick County, Va., about 1744, as did his father-in-law, Richard Marlin. Information is wanted concerning their place of residence before they arrived in Frederick Co., Va. Also the names of their parents, and maiden name and parentage of Richard Marlin's wife.

MARY HOSS HEADMAN,
920 Walnut St., Knoxville 16, Tenn.

Gantt Family—Can a descendant of the Gantt family in Calvert or Prince George's Counties supply the name of John Gantt, Senior's, wife, and the surname of his second wife Margaret? He came to Berkeley County, Va., now Jefferson Co., W. Va., to live in 1771.

MYNNA THRUSTON,
Shepherdstown, W. Va.

Younkers—Mrs. Elizabeth Youn(g)kers' name was listed in the Baltimore Directory until 1848. She died in March or April of that year. She left two sons, Philip and Albert. What was her maiden name? Her husband's given name?

(Miss) PENELOPE GRIFFISS,
Hotel Patten, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Military Pharmacy—The American Institute of the History of Pharmacy has invited me to write a history of military pharmacy in the United States. Will readers who are or have been military pharmacists or medical supply officers, have forbears who were military pharmacists or medical supply officers or possess information on military pharmacy, please communicate with me?

RALPH BIENFANG,
University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

RALPH ROBINSON, a distinguished member of the Baltimore Bar, has made a detailed study of the Maryland phase of the War of 1812. ☆ WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., a member of the Society's staff, is a frequent contributor to historical journals. ☆ Author of two books on Maryland in the seventeenth century, DR. RAPHAEL SEMMES has just been appointed Editor of the *Archives of Maryland* by the Council of the Society. ☆ MRS. FANNY COMBS GOUGH is a native of St. Mary's County and a genealogist of parts. ☆ Keeper of the Archive of Hispanic Culture, Library of Congress, ROBERT C. SMITH is a resident of Howard County. ☆ EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN is an authority on American bookplates and an active officer of the Hammond-Harwood House Association.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XL

JUNE, 1945

No. 2

MARYLAND AND TOLERANCE *

By HARRY S. TRUMAN

It is a special pleasure to be here in Baltimore tonight with the Maryland Historical Society. It is an extra privilege to be here with my good friend, and colleague, Senator George L. Radcliffe, President of your distinguished Society. Your Society has already completed a century of service and education.

The Free State of Maryland has a glorious history, which must be carefully preserved to inspire other Americans to revere the past and to face boldly the future. Of all the thirteen original states, Maryland stood out as a real champion of tolerance and freedom. While many other states began as a haven for religious freedom for one faith, Maryland extended that freedom, not merely to those of the faith of Lord Baltimore, but also to those of all other religions as well. Truly, Maryland became and has remained, the Free State, the progressive and liberal link between the North and the South.

Fully one hundred years before the Father of our Country, George Washington, was born, King Charles I granted to another George called Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, a charter to all land between the Potomac River and the 40th parallel. After much dispute, the latter boundary finally was moved slightly south to become our famous Mason-Dixon line, which post-bellum good-

* Address before the Maryland Day meeting of the Maryland Historical Society on the evening of March 27, 1945, sixteen days before Vice President Truman succeeded to the Presidency of the United States.

will has gradually transformed into a bridge of friendship, instead of a border between intolerant opposition.

It is difficult to realize that Maryland is one of the smaller States of the Union, with only seven being smaller in size. This is merely another classic example of the importance of a State far beyond its physical size. For Maryland, the great champion of real democracy, has made its historical influence felt a tremendous distance beyond its borders, just as great ideals cannot be confined to physical limits.

You members of the Maryland Historical Society also are rendering a lasting service far beyond the borders of Maryland. All America can well be inspired by the annals of your historic State, by the deeds of your inspiring leaders, who had the courage and the fortitude to stand boldly for tolerance, when it required real character to withstand the passion of religious bigotry.

At the Nation's Capital, in front of the Archives Building on Pennsylvania Avenue, there stands a monument under which is inscribed the statement, "What is Past is Prologue." Those five words describe, as well as I know how, what you members of the Maryland Historical Society realized years ago. Truly, all history is but an introduction to the future. The greatest tragedies in history have been made by people who did not read and analyze history.

History, of course, does not actually repeat itself. Unfortunately, certain people do, however, repeat history in its less happy chapters. The pages of history remain open for all to read. They stand as an eternal warning against the tragic disasters of the past. Before the world, even greater disasters may be waiting for those who will not read the record of time.

Happily, however, thoughtful people, who appreciate the real importance of history, have worked long and hard to preserve the precious heritages of the past. These act as living milestones to guide us and help avoid the mistakes of the former generations. Of course, every generation must meet new problems in light of new developments, but surely, they must profit by the experience of the past.

Science informs us that the preservation of experience is one of the basic differences between rational human beings and animals. The former should profit by the history of their race, tragic though it may be, while the latter must learn anew, the hard way, with each new generation.

As rational human beings, there surely can be little of more importance than that of preserving the precious heritage of the past. This is the one secure record which will help us find our way into the difficult future. All available records seem to indicate that the future will be what we Americans make it.

America is confronted today with the greatest problem in its long history. In Colonial days, we struggled for survival. At the present, we are charged with the grave responsibility of leading the entire world to a sound order, an order which will guide suffering humanity to the haven long sought, the haven which the Colonials of Calvert's day thought they would find, and did find, along the shores of the Chesapeake.

At no time in the entire history of the world is there a greater call for tolerance. The fires of bigotry and hatred have been fanned for years by the enemies of democracy. The poison of intolerance has again been injected into the social blood stream of America. There is no lasting cure except that found in the impartial records of history. Only dispassionate and accurate information can lead mankind back to the road to reason.

When enemy agents are working overtime to confuse the issues, and to deny the facts of democratic vitality, the important service of historical societies can hardly be over estimated. For decades millions of people have been misled by the propaganda of our enemies. They hate tolerant people. There remains only one cure for the deadly disease suffered by these people. It is the cold light of sound reason. The diatribe of demagogues cannot withstand the impartial scrutiny of students of history.

Your contributions of the past century to help Americans retain a proper perspective are of lasting value. We as a Nation have made many mistakes which could have been avoided if we had had the adult wisdom obtained only by hard *experience*—a common synonym for history.

It is obvious that we should not expect all Americans to profit from the experience of the past. It is the rare individual indeed who has the intellectual fortitude to rise above personal experiences. That is where the historical societies of the entire world may make contributions, which cannot be measured by material standards. Ultimately, if we do not profit by the past, we are doomed to repeat mistakes in the future.

The future may be far more complicated than any historical

society would dare to predict. Your real contribution consists in presenting the facts of the past. The past is the potent key to the future. There is frequently fundamental difference of opinion as to historical events, and the proper evaluation of these events is possible only in the clear light of truth. For sound progress we must face the facts.

We of the democratic world have many disagreeable facts to face. Our enemies cannot be conquered by force alone. We must help to reëducate them to the ideals of truth. Truth is a virtue which scientists and historians always seek. However, for years, our opponents have conditioned their people against acceptance of this most simple of all virtues.

Throughout history truth has suffered under the prolonged attack of partisan propaganda. When the history of this tragic era has been written it will reveal that many liberal souls have died to advance the ideals of truth and justice.

At no time in the annals of mankind has there been a greater need for the spirit of tolerance. The tragic failure to realize the essential necessity for practical tolerance is one of the basic failures of our time. Only the records of history will help all of us to keep our perspective, and achieve harmony and brotherhood among men.

While intolerance is running rampant throughout the world, we need more friendly people, like those who first pioneered the Free State of Maryland. America requires the aid of such people to guide the world to basic ideals.

In the years to come our world will have many hard problems to solve. I feel confident that Americans fully intend to have their say as to the future destiny of mankind on this shrinking planet. Americans never were prone to follow others meekly. On the contrary, history records our people usually among the leaders, especially when the public welfare is involved.

No matter how grave the post-war problems may be, I am sure that our American sense of proportion and our regard for our glorious past will see us through to victory. Like the brave pioneers of Maryland, we shall continue to do our task with characteristic American energy and enthusiasm.

The most pressing problem before us remains the winning of the war at the earliest possible moment to save precious human lives.

That requires a mighty national effort and united harmony on the home-front.

Surely, this is no time for petty, partisan politics. This is a time for greater national unity—for greater sacrifice for our national interests. Both winning the war and winning the peace are not partisan objectives. They are the all essential American objectives. They must be attained if our country is to continue to exist and prosper. Let us, therefore, all close ranks and remain strongly united, until these vital ends have been accomplished.

When the last gun is fired on some remote enemy stronghold, we must still continue the ceaseless crusade for a just and durable peace. When we recall the heartache and suffering caused by this world-wide conflict, we must dedicate our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to the cause of lasting peace. This requires patience and persistence—tolerance and time. When the people of the world fully realize that the public welfare is really the supreme law, we may at last have real peace on earth—and lasting good will toward all mankind!

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF THE FIRST LORD BALTIMORE *

By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

The Maryland Historical Society has come into possession of the following hitherto unpublicized letter from the first Lord Baltimore:

My very good Lord

I understand yo[u]^r Losp. [Lordship] is to go out of Towne this day, else I had purposed to have wayted on you this evening, and to have desired yo^r Losp. to assist me w[i]th yo^r memory what the course was w[hi]ch was taken with the old Virginia Company for taking in their

* This letter was the property of the late John Gribbel of Philadelphia, whose collection of books and autograph manuscripts has been recently dispersed in a series of sales at the Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York. The handwriting throughout is Calvert's. It is written on a folded sheet measuring 10¾ by 7½ inches, addressed in Calvert's hand:

"To the R^t Hon^{ble}
my very good Lord
the Erle of Middlesex."

It bears the still perfect impression in red wax of Baltimore's signet ring engraved with the Calvert crest (two half lances, or [gold] the bandroll [pennant] flying from one, sable, from the other, or).

Lionel Cranfield, first Earl of Middlesex (1575-1645) was but a few years Baltimore's senior and like him, born a commoner but rewarded for his service to the King by elevation to the peerage. He was lord treasurer and member of the Privy Council 1622-1624. He was convicted by the House of Lords of mismanagement and acceptance of bribes on May 12 of the latter year and sentenced to loss of his offices and his seat in the lords. Oddly enough, it was only a few days later, on May 24, that the Virginia Company was dissolved by royal decree, an end which Middlesex had sought. The next year Middlesex was pardoned.

The letter was acquired after spirited bidding at the auction session of April 16, 1945. The Society is under lasting obligation to members who recognized its significance and created a fund for its purchase. Those who made possible the addition of this fine piece to the already remarkable collection of Calvert Papers in the Society's Library are Mr. Manuel Hendler, Mr. Albert D. Hutzler, Mr. William H. Koester, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Lansburgh, Mr. Charles P. McCormick, Mr. Leander McCormick-Goodhart, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, Dr. Hugh H. Young, Mr. Douglas H. Gordon and Mr. Louis H. Dielman.—EDITOR.

Patent w^{ch} I learne they pretend still to be in force; Sure I am that or old My [Majesty] K[ing] James understood it to be damned for ever, and yf [if] it were not legally done, it was against his intention.

The reason of my enquiry is that I am about a new patent of some part of that large Territory unplanted w^{ch} was once within their old Patent, and not near their Plantation and as I considered in his M[ajest]y['s] power to grant. I beseech yo^r Losp (yf it be not too much to yo^r trouble) lett me butt know yo^r opinion in a lyne or two and I shall acknowledge it as a favor to

Yo^r Losps very affectionate
and humble servant
Geo. Baltimore

28 March
1632

Present knowledge of the circumstances under which this letter was written offers more in the way of reading between the lines than by reading what is actually set down; for it involves the personnel and plans of the founder-projectors not only of Maryland but also of Virginia. Indirectly, it may be said that Newfoundland and New England and the future of the Middle Atlantic colonies are also concerned.

Primarily, the struggle for a new colonial "emprise" impinging upon the territorial priorities of the first Anglo-American colony is clearly indicated. What does not lie open to the casual reader is the clash of personalities involving groups and factions in the mother country. In these conflicts, men of equal virtue, probity, and patriotic purpose became engaged in bitter controversy. In fact, nowhere in all history may a better illustration be found of such political conflict between superior souls.

From the standpoint of "the old Virginia Company," George Calvert's close associations with James I automatically made him *persona non grata* with Sir Edwin Sandys and the freedom-loving leaders of the Virginia-London Company. As an active or alleged agent of the Stuart monarch's plan to dissolve the Virginia Company as "a seminary for a seditious Parliament," Calvert was an object of suspicion; for in 1624 James I succeeded in dissolving the Company and attempted the permanent overthrow of the system of self-government set up by the Company in the first colony. Incidentally, James had boasted he had "harried" the Separatist heretics out of England; and these exiles were now

invited by Sandys to repatriate themselves under the British flag in Virginia—an invitation that appears to have tipped the scales in the choice of the future "Pilgrim Fathers" between Virginia, then comprising most of the North American continent, and British Guiana. And in this matter the writer has conjectured that Sandys and Calvert saw eye to eye, since James I tolerated the move, with Calvert as his principal secretary, a toleration or encouragement which was characteristic of Cecil Calvert in subsequently issuing an invitation to the Virginia Puritans to settle in Maryland.

Again, as principal secretary to his Majesty, Sir George Calvert had the duty, which may well have been repugnant to him on occasions, to carry out the orders of a tyrannical king. In opposition to these directives stood Sir Edwin Sandys, a chief protagonist of liberty both as to restricting the prerogatives of Parliament and the charter rights of the Virginia Company.

In the face of these conditions it is small wonder that members of the "old" or dissolved Virginia Company mistrusted my Lord Baltimore. When he had borne, in his name, a message from the Court to the Commons to the effect that Sandys had not been "committed" for anything said or done in Parliament, the official "note-taker" had dryly observed: "The House will scarce believe Mr. Secretary, but thinketh he equivocateth." In this case it is easy to see that if anyone had equivocated it was the king; but it was one thing to call the message-bearer a falsifier and quite another to attribute such to his Majesty.

George Calvert had, in addition, been concerned in the proposed concessions offered totalitarian Spain as well as having taken a principal part in Prince Charles' wild courtship of the Infanta—and Spain was England's enemy in both hemispheres. Since, also, church and state were joined in either country and therefore in double enmity as to creed and policy, suspicion was not lifted when Calvert became a convert to the church championed by Spain.

In his letter, Lord Baltimore was right in saying that "our old Majesty King James understood" the Virginia Company had been "damned for ever." He was probably right in thinking that the surviving members of the Company were hoping, under Charles I, to regain their charter. Perhaps some of these ex-members were trying to block Calvert's efforts to get his patent, and perhaps

the "very good Lord" took up the matter at once with the king, for in less than a month, the patent was granted. In the meantime Calvert's death occurred on April 15.

This newly-unearthed letter illustrates a paradox in the antagonism between two of Britain's greatest statesmen. On the one side, Edwin Sandys, projector of the first parliament in America; and, on the other, George Calvert, projector of Maryland and the first protagonist of religious freedom in the New World.

Since Cecil Calvert carried out this his father's plan, and since he also followed the precedent set by Sandys and the Virginia-London Company in establishing self-government, it is certain that these quondam antagonists would have the high regard for each other we now have for both, and that both would join in rejoicing over the freedom and greatness of the nation which they helped to found. With the Quaker refugee and settler on the Eastern Shore, they would together proclaim "The End of Controversie."

THE SEA COAST OF MARYLAND¹

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

On a map of the Atlantic coast between Chincoteague Inlet and Fenwick's Island, drawn in the year 1835 by the well known engineer and geologist, John Henry Alexander, there is indicated a "wreck" on shore about five miles south of the present inlet at Ocean City.² It is hardly necessary to point out that a wreck sufficiently conspicuous to merit such notice must have represented a considerable loss, if not in lives, at least in property. And yet, at this late date, to identify the respective ship and to ascertain her name (for a wreck, let it be remembered, is no more a ship than a corpse is a human being), would be very difficult, if not impossible. With these facts in mind one approaches the business of writing an historical account of the Maryland sea coast in a spirit of due humility and with the realization of the contrast between the never-to-be-written drama and tragedy of foundered ships and the less interesting and less important matters, which our researches have succeeded in bringing to light.

CHANGING NOMENCLATURE

In the later decades of the seventeenth century and for some years afterwards the barrier of sands, salt marshes, dunes and hummocks, which lies between the Atlantic Ocean and the sounds or bays now variously called Chincoteague, Sinepuxent, Isle of

¹ The author is indebted to Mr. Arthur Trader and to Mr. Warren of the State Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland, to Dr. R. V. Truitt, of the Department of Research and Education, Solomons, Maryland, and to the staff of the Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland, particularly to Miss Litsinger, for information used in writing this article.

² "Chart of the Waters between Chincoteague Inlet and Fenwick's Island surveyed with a view to a canal connection of the Chesapeake and Delaware." This unpublished chart bears the name of John H. Alexander, Topographical Office, and the date, December, 1835. It is in the collections of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

Wight and Assawoman, from Fenwick's Island down to Chincoteague Inlet in Virginia, was known as Assateague, or, more particularly, as Assateague Beach or Assateague Island. At that time the several sounds above mentioned went under the name of Assateague Bay, but the waters between South Point, at the southern end of Sinepuxent Neck, and the head of Assawoman Bay had still another name: New Haven Sound. The name "Assawomen" then belonged to what is now called Little Assawoman Bay, in Delaware. Newport Bay was called Mobjack Bay and Newport River, Assateague River.

THE FIRST SURVEYS AND LAND GRANTS

At a meeting of Lord Baltimore's Council, on March 5th, 1686, Captain (later Colonel) William Whittington presented a memorial concerning a "certain Isthmus (sic) or Peninsula of Marish & Piney Hummocks called and known by the name of Assateague Island lying and being on the Seaboard side within this Province containing at least 15,000 acres the southward end of which is reputed to be within the bounds of Virga."³ It appears that the dividing line between the two colonies had not yet been run from the mainland to the sea, and encroachments on the part of Virginians were feared. A few days later the Council, acting upon the request of Colonels Vincent Lowe and William Digges, that "Assateague Island" be laid out in their names, ordered Captain Whittington to survey the same, to report the number of acres which were found to be contained within the bounds of the aforesaid "island" and to apprise the board as to whether or not any earlier surveys had been made within this area.⁴ No such survey and report as the Council expected of Whittington appears to be on record. On September 16th, 1702, he took up, in his own right, a tract of one thousand acres on Assateague Island proper, and called it by the suggestive name of "Baltimore's Gift."⁵ On October 18th, 1704, Madam Elizabeth Digges, the widow of William Digges, made over to the aforesaid Whittington all of her interest in that "Peninsula of land and marshes" called Assateague, which was to have been granted to

³ *Archives of Maryland*, V, 536, 537.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 538.

⁵ Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber W. D., f. 407.

her by order of Lord Baltimore.⁶ The intermediate stages of the title have not been uncovered. That the whole of the present sea coast of Maryland, and not merely Assateague Island proper, was intended to be included in this grant is amply demonstrated by subsequent events.

Within the following decade long stretches of beach were laid out by Captain Whittington under the warrant aforesaid in the names of divers persons, himself included. On Assateague Island proper two earlier surveys were met with, namely, "Baltimore's Gift" and "Winter Pasture."⁷ This last appears to have been popularly known as Winter Quarter, a charming place-name which still attaches to a section of shore on the bay side of the island. Here, too, we find Winter Quarter Creek, while out at sea lie the Winter Quarter Shoals.⁸

From Fenwick's Island, or thereabouts, southwards, between ocean and sound, as far as an inlet which was situate between three and four miles below the present new inlet at Ocean City, Whittington laid out an unbroken chain of surveys varying in area from one hundred and ten to five hundred acres.⁹ For many

⁶ Land Office, Warrants, Liber A, 1694-1706, f. 231.

⁷ Land Office, Patent Records for Land, Liber 22, f. 286. "Winter Pasture" is called "Winter Quarter" in Whittington's certificate of survey, "Baltimore's Gift." A rent-roll of Somerset County (Calvert Papers No. 885) contains the following entry (f. 126): "500 acres—Winter Pasture surv^d. 5 May 1686, for Coll. William Stevens *suppose it is Winter Quarter on Assateague Island, or beaches,*" &c.

⁸ Modern Maryland Geological Survey maps of Worcester County show Winter Quarter on the bay side, opposite to an island called Beacon (Bacon) Clumps. (Query: is this not a localism for "tumps," as "hammocks" is local for "hummocks?"). Winter Quarter is entered on James B. Robins' MS Map of Worcester County, c. 1800 (For fuller account of this map see Note 46), which also has "Baltimore Gift." "Privilege," patented to Adam Spence and William Fassett, 16 Nov., 1769, begins at a bounded tree standing near the mouth of Winter Quarter Creek, opposite to Bacon Island (now called Beacon Clumps). (Land Office, Patent Records for Land, Liber B. C. & G. S. No. 37, folio 405). "Fishing Camp," surveyed for the same parties, June 13, 1772, lies on Winter Quarter Beach, on the west side of Winter Quarter Creek. (Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 484, Worcester County). Winter Quarter Shoals are indicated on a map styled *Chart of Delaware and Chesapeake Bays and the Sea Coast from Cape May to Cape Henry*, revised edition, 1882.

⁹ The author has deposited at the Land Office a plat of these lands, drawn according to the respective certificates of survey, together with all the necessary references. From south to north they run as follows: "Bald Beach," "Assateague" (site of Ocean City), "Adam's Fall" (site of Ocean City), "Winter Range," "Spence's Lot," "Sand Beach," "Tower's Pasture," "Pentland Hills," "The Cellar," "Hudson's Purchase," and "The Upper Pines." The certificate of survey of "Bald Beach" (1706) calls for an inlet as its southern boundary. "The Upper Pines," surveyed for William Whittington (1714) and patented to his

years afterwards these seaside lands or beaches were bought, sold and inherited, until little by little, one by one, the titles to these properties were apparently abandoned. Needless to say, these beaches were not as yet thought of as possible "resorts" of "vacationists" on pleasure bent; but it is difficult to see how they came to be looked upon as wholly valueless. Years later, when the great vacation and "tripper" era began to dawn upon our local sea shores, and speculators began to patent extensive stretches of beach all the way from Fenwick's Island to the Virginia line, these ancient land-grants were conveniently forgotten or ignored, and the sands and marshes so taken up are described in the patents, not as escheat, as was proper, but as "vacant" lands and surveyed under common warrants.

ABORIGINES AND EARLY SETTLERS

At what period of history the Maryland sea coast began to be inhabited by white men is no longer clear; but it seems likely that the persons, whose lands on the beach were surveyed by Whittington between 1704 and 1714, in most cases were not slow in setting up "quarters" on these properties. Certain it is that by 1711 there were white people living on Assateague Island.¹⁰

daughter, Hannah Hough (1736), includes the grove or woods known as The Upper Pines. In his will, Feb. 28, 1718/19, Whittington left this land to his daughter, describing it as "joining on the north with the beach of Henry Hudson," by which "Hudson's Purchase" is meant. (Baldwin, *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, V, 15, 16). All the other surveys are joined to one another by their "calls," except "Sand Beach" and "Tower's Pasture." In that case other considerations leave no reasonable doubt that they bound one upon another. This chain of surveys occupies about eleven and a half miles of beach from The Upper Pines to the inlet. The northern limits of the Upper Pines were situated a short distance below Fenwick's Island, the southern boundary of which was, at one time, considered to lie about three quarters of a mile below the Delaware line. These conclusions have been reached by the author after a study of two surveys and plats, viz., "Fassett's Luck Enlarged," surveyed, 1807, for James Fassett (Land Office, Patented Certificate No. 907, Worcester County), and "Harford," surveyed for Charles H. Weir, 1884 (Land Office, Patented Certificate No. 1214, Worcester County). On the basis of these facts it seems safe to assume that the old inlet, which bounded Sinepuxent Island on the north, was situated between three miles and three and three-quarters miles south of the new inlet at Ocean City.

¹⁰ "Assoetague Beach," 1300 acres, surveyed for William Whittington, February 29, 1711, takes up that part of Assateague Island between the Virginia line and "Baltimore's Gift." The survey calls for a boundary standing near a cove or gut called the Three Run Cove, which issues out of the sound "*to the eastward of the now dwelling house*, being also a boundary of another tract of land surveyed for the said Whittington called Baltimore's Gift." The "dwelling house" aforesaid doubtless stood on the earlier survey, "Baltimore's Gift." Also called for is the "*neck fence where James Taylor now dwells*." Land Office, Patent Records for Land, Liber E. E., No. 6, f. 291.)

Fishing, obviously, always attracted men to the shore, and salt-making, as we shall see presently, was one of its industries. There was timber, too, on the coast, notably in the pine woods south of Fenwick's Island, which were known as the Upper, Middle and Lower Pines. Otherwise attractive was the somewhat irregular business of dismantling wrecked ships, in which the simpler human elements dwelling on or near the Maryland seaboard seem to have shown no little capacity and enterprise, as we shall observe later. Perhaps the principal attraction which awakened a rather early interest in this once desolate and not easily accessible part of Maryland is to be inferred from the names of three of its earlier land-grants: "Towers' Pasture," "Winter Quarter" or "Winter Pasture" and "Winter Range": It was pasturage for cattle and horses. The Chincoteague pony of Assateague Island is probably a stunted descendant of horses which were turned loose on that island upwards of two hundred years ago.¹¹

Of Indian inhabitants of these ocean shores we know nothing, as both history and archaeology seem to be silent on this subject.¹² In the year 1704 two "strange" Indians were taken up on Assateague Island in Virginia on the assumption that they were runaway slaves, but seem to have been released upon giving good evidence that they were "Spanish" Indians and came from Florida. The mystery of their being found in a place so remote from their home is unexplained, and lends itself to the supposition that they were survivors of a shipwreck.¹³

¹¹ For mention of the Chincoteague pony see "The Equine F. F. V.'s" in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXV (1927), p. 365, note 18. For a sensible, unromantic explanation of the breed as stunted stock descended from ordinary horses turned loose on the beach in colonial times see J. C. Wise, *Ye Kingdom of Accawmacke or the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (1911), p. 307 *et seq.*

¹² This state of affairs is apparently in contrast to that of the North Carolina coast, where, in historical times, there was an Indian town at Cape Hatteras (See Hon. William Reed's grant of 502 acres in Curratuck Precinct, which runs "to a post by ye sound of Cape Hatteras Indian town," Jan. 18, 1711/12. Recorded in North Carolina Land Grants, Liber 1, 1688-1720, f. 175). Signs of an Indian settlement were lately to be seen farther up this coast, at Kittyhawk, between the southern end of the Fresh Ponds and the sand hills, and along the sand hills to the south. There the author found in the sands fragments of a clay pottery vessel, now in the Smithsonian Institution; also a number of short, thick, sharpened stakes arranged in a circle.

¹³ *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, II, 400.

FAUNA

Now, as to fauna, today there are deer on Assateague Island, but there is good reason to believe that they are not the descendants of the ancient original breed, which died out in Worcester County years ago.¹⁴ Wolves were probably at one time denizens of this coast, inasmuch as the Indians, who rescued Henry Norwood and his party from their dire predicament in the winter of 1650, informed him that these animals infested the island on which those hapless English people were marooned, although far too sly to be seen by them.¹⁵ Foxes are still to be met with on the beach.¹⁶ The wildcat, too, was doubtless once an inhabitant of those parts.¹⁷ For lack of water-courses the beaver was probably always absent from the shore although common on the mainland. Panthers, bears and elk, for all we know, might have been seen there from time to time, as they were certainly indigenous to the interior.

A CHAIN OF ISLANDS

In his report to Governor Thomas Ward Veazey, dated February 15th, 1837, John H. Alexander, Esq., then State Topographical Engineer, later our first State Geologist, gives some very interesting information concerning the history and former condition of the Maryland coast line:¹⁸

At the time of writing, as would still be the case today, but for the new inlet at Ocean City, there was no inlet between Indian River Inlet and Chincoteague Inlet, a distance of nearly fifty miles. Alexander tells us that neither of these two inlets, for reasons which he carefully explains, was of much use.¹⁹ He adds:

¹⁴ Letter of Dr. R. V. Truitt to the author, February 3, 1945.

¹⁵ A wild goose shot by Norwood was suspended from a tree, while he went to fetch the cook, who was one of the marooned party. On returning with the cook, Norwood found the goose gone, all but the head, "the body stollen by wolves, which, the Indians told us after, do abound greatly in that island." (*Force's Tracts*, Vol. III, No. 10, p. 26.)

¹⁶ Dr. Truitt's letter above cited.

¹⁷ On Alexander's "Chart of the Waters between Chincoteague Inlet and Fenwick's Island" (note 2), we find the word *Wildcat* (*Point?*) with reference to the northern end of Chincoteague Island.

¹⁸ Alexander to Governor Veazey, 1837, p. 76. Alexander suggested the construction of an inlet opposite to the mouth of Saint Martin's River (*Ibid.*, p. 93).

¹⁹ Chincoteague Inlet, according to Alexander, had such a winding channel, that vessels lay there for two or three weeks, waiting for favorable winds and tide.

"There used to be an inlet off against South Point about 30 miles below Indian river inlet, but this has been, since 1819, closed up entirely."²⁰ Continuing his report, Mr. Alexander makes the following significant remarks:

It must be recollected that the main-land of the eastern slope of Worcester County does not reach the ocean; but that it is protected by a beach, consisting originally (by that is meant, hardly 100 years ago) of a number of small islands. . . . At present that original arrangement is broken up to a certain degree by the junction into one of all the islands, and their connection with the main land at the northern end, so that in fact from Indian river inlet down to Chincoteague the beach is a long peninsula of 50 miles, varying in width from one hundred yards to nearly a mile.²¹ . . . The ancient names, which were attributed to the different islands when they were islands, are still in a good many places retained for different portions of the peninsula. Thus we have Assatigue Island, now the southernmost extremity of the peninsula; Sinepuxent, against Sinepuxent Neck, and joining on to Assatigue—the Rocking Islands, the middle Pines, Fenwick's Island, and others whose names will occur to those familiar with those localities.

If we ignore Green Run Inlet, which, apparently, did not come into being until later,²² Assateague Island had a length (measured along its beach) of about twenty-five miles, more than half of which lay in Virginia. Its northern limit was the south shore of

As for Indian River Inlet, the depth of water rarely exceeded six feet at high tide, and was sometimes not more than three feet at ebb. Alexander considered this inlet likely to be closed at any time, and that a new inlet might replace it farther north on Rehoboth Bay. (*Ibid.*, p. 78.) Recorded among the court proceedings of Somerset County is a deposition, taken in November, 1724, in which it is stated that Indian River Inlet was formerly fordable. (Somerset County Court Proceedings, "Judicials," 1722-1724, f. 264.)

²⁰ This refers to old Sinepuxent Inlet.

²¹ The "beach," in places, is a little over a mile wide, including the marshes, on Assateague Island proper.

²² Green Run Inlet, which cut across Assateague Island about four miles north of the Virginia line, and for which a life saving station is named, is shown on a map styled *General Chart of Delaware and Chesapeake Bays and the Seacoast from Cape May to Cape Henry*, 1855; but on the revised edition of the same chart (1882) the inlet is marked "closed." It is marked "closed" on Martinet's *Atlas of Maryland*—section "Worcester County," 1866. It is not entered on J. H. Alexander's chart, 1835 (Note 2), nor is it mentioned in his report to Governor Veazey, 1837 (see above). From these facts we infer that Green Run Inlet, as a thing of use, lasted less than thirty years. Dr. R. V. Truitt, a native of Worcester County, has enjoyed the advantage of hearing the old people of those parts talk about this inlet. In a letter addressed to the author, February 3, 1945, he contributes the following information: "It is my understanding that the Inlet was deep enough to take care of navigation, but that its entrance to the Bay was exceedingly shallow and, therefore, virtually worthless to coastal trading." There was formerly a beach settlement at Green Run, and in the early '80's there was a summer hotel at that place called Scott's Ocean House.

Old Sinepuxent Inlet, approximately opposite to the southern end of Tingle's Island. Sinepuxent Island stretched from Sinepuxent Inlet, about half a mile below the site of the North Beach Life Saving Station, northwards some five and a half miles. North Beach and South Beach²³ were so called, because of their position relative to Sinepuxent Inlet, which divided them from each other. Another inlet, name unknown, bounded Sinepuxent Island on the north. Its site is about three and a half miles²⁴ below the present new inlet at Ocean City.²⁵ In 1920, during a violent storm, the sea broke through the sand barrier at or near this spot, thus recreating, though for a few years only, the old, and, perhaps, wholly forgotten inlet of colonial times.²⁶

The limits of the Rocking Islands are not definitely known. There is good reason to suppose that these islands occupied the whole site of Ocean City, since the upper part of this site was certainly known as *Upper Rocking Islands*, as far as a point opposite to the mouth of Turville's Creek on Isle of Wight Bay.²⁷ *Quaking hummocks* is the only explanation we have to offer of this curious and by no means unlovely place-name.

It is a reasonable inference that the Middle Pines lay between two pine woods known, respectively, as the Upper and Lower Pines. The northern limits of the Lower Pines lay opposite to the north end of an island in Assawoman Bay called Devil's Island.²⁸ The southern edge of the Upper Pines was nearly opposite to Horse Island.²⁹ It is not unlikely that the Upper,

²³ On Robins' Map of Worcester County, we find both "S. Beach" and "North Beach." The latter is a place-name still in use; but, with the disappearance of old Sinepuxent Inlet more than a hundred years ago, its significance by now must be locally forgotten. A reference to South Beach, as well as to the inlet, will be found in the certificate of survey of "Addition to Mount Pleasant," a resurvey on "Mount Pleasant," as laid out for Daniel Tingle, for whom Tingle's Island is named: Beginning "at a marked sassafras post set up on the west side of the South Beach bearing north north east thirty yards from a salt house built by Thomas Selby and Moses Johnson and now owned by Thomas Purnell . . . and running . . . to the waters of the bay at the edge of a channel called the South Channel making round a part of Beach from Synapuxen Inlet," &c. (Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 89, Worcester County.)

²⁴ This distance is computed from data set forth in Note 9, *q. v.*

²⁵ The new inlet at Ocean City was constructed in 1932.

²⁶ This inlet was closed by a north-easter on May 9, 1928.

²⁷ The *Upper Rocking Islands* are shown on the Alexander chart of 1835, which is cited above (Note 2).

²⁸ The situation of the Lower Pines is worked out from data given in the certificate of survey of "Fassett's Luck Enlarged" (Note 9).

²⁹ The situation of the Upper Pines has been determined from data given in the certificates of survey of "Harford" and of "Fassett's Luck Enlarged" (Note 9).

Middle and Lower Pines all were situated within the compass of one island. There is still an extensive pine woods today on the coast immediately south of Fenwick's Island. The matter is not without historical interest, for it seems not unlikely that in these pineries, and on this stretch of seashore, we have the very spot where Colonel Henry Norwood's remarkable adventure and rescue in the dead of winter, 1650, took place.³⁰

FENWICK'S ISLAND

The claim that Fenwick's Island was the scene of the dramatic episode so graphically narrated in Henry Norwood's "Voyage to Virginia" falls down in the face of the fact this "island" was a peninsula in colonial times, attached to the mainland by Rumley Marsh, across the head of Assawoman or New Haven Bay, which in those times no thoroughfare united with the waters of (Little) Assawoman Bay in Delaware. It is asserted on the best authority

³⁰ Norwood's own account of this adventure, "A Voyage to Virginia," is published in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. III, Part 10. A very interesting commentary on the subject by Mr. Louis Dow Scisco was printed in this Magazine, Vol. XVIII, p. 130 *et seq.* (June, 1923). Norwood does not tell us enough about his island to enable us to identify it after nearly three hundred years and in view of the changes which have taken place on this coast. The island had a small stream of fresh water on it, which saved the lives of Norwood and his party. (*Ibid.*, p. 20.) They existed principally on oysters, wild fowl and on "a sort of weed some four inches long, as thick as houseleek, and the only green (except pines) that the island afforded." (*Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.) It must be remembered that this was in winter time, when deciduous trees and shrubs were bare. The stream of water may have had its origin in a bog, which dried up in summer. In April, 1941, the author found such a stream on Fenwick's Island and drank out of it. About an hour was required by Francis Cary, one of the party, to walk around the island and, in so doing, to determine its insular character. (*Ibid.*, p. 23.) At one time Norwood was on the point of swimming the "creek" (inlet), "which was not above one hundred yards over," "to the main," "and being there" intended "to coast along the woods to the south west (which was the bearing of Virginia) until I should meet with Indians who would either relieve or destroy us." (*Ibid.*, p. 26.) The place where the Indian rescuers were first seen was "on the main," on the other side of the "creek" (inlet). (*Ibid.*) This creek and its branches made up inland to Kickotank, the seat of the friendly Indian chief, who received the helpless English with so much kindness and hospitality. Nothing is said by Norwood about any broad waters, sounds or bays being crossed on his way to Kickotank. This journey was made in two stages, both by water. The first stage took Norwood and his party to a fisherman's "house," and consumed only the latter part of a short winter's afternoon. The next day the English were transported by water three miles to the Indian queen's house and from thence they walked half a mile to the king's house. (*Ibid.*, p. 32 *et seq.*) At Kickotank they were informed by Jenkin Price, an Indian trader, whom they met there, that they were fifty miles from the nearest English settlements on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. (*Ibid.*, p. 44.) From Kickotank Norwood, with several companions and a guide, walked in one day to the Indian town of Gingo Teague, which seems to have been not far

that Fenwick's Island (Fennix Island to the local inhabitants) "was formerly connected by a strip of low and partially fast land to the main" (so runs an official report of the year 1834), until "through the narrowest part of the isthmus, it is now thirty years since a ditch was cut to divide a pasture—four feet wide and three feet deep was all the labour bestowed upon it. It has long since assumed the shape of a Bosphorus or straits, more than forty feet wide and twenty deep";³¹ and so The Ditch, as it is still called, dating from 1804, remains today.

Fenwick's Island was taken up by Colonel William Stevens, 23rd March, 1680, under the name of "Fishing Harbour," but owes its present name to a certain Thomas Fenwick, an early settler of those parts.³² Slightly higher than the adjoining sea coast, this "island" differs from it otherwise in that its loamy, arable soil supports a growth of oak, maple and gum. Two centuries ago there was a "high woods," one hundred acres in extent, on Fenwick's Island.³³ The southern limits of the island

from the present state line. (*Ibid.*, p. 45. See also *Indian Towns of the South Eastern Part of Sussex County, Delaware*, by William B. Marye, published by the Delaware Archaeological Society, 1940, p. 10, note 37.) Remembering that Norwood's island was separated from the mainland by a "creek," which, in one spot, was no more than one hundred yards wide, and that there is no mention in his journal of coming out into broad waters on the way to Kickotank, we find only two places on this coast, which might, in the far past, have answered these and the other conditions: (1) the island called The Middle Pines and (2) a hypothetical island, situated in Delaware, between the ocean and the head of Little Assawoman Bay.

³¹ *Report of a Commission for the Survey of Sounds on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, Maryland and Delaware*, 1834, p. 6. Commissioners: Messrs. Solomon Prettyman, Henry F. Rodney, John C. Dirickson, C. B. Shaw and J. H. Alexander. In his *History of Delaware* (1888) the historian, Scharf, has this to say about Fenwick's Island in connection with his remarks concerning the manor laid out for the Duke of York, March 4, 1683: "The tract [Fenwick's Island] was not then an island but many years ago a ditch was dug on its landward side, which, through the action of the tide, has become a channel, fifty yards wide and fifteen feet deep, completely isolating it from the mainland." (Vol. 2, p. 1340.)

³² *Indian Towns of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County, Delaware*, by William B. Marye, p. 11. In a rent-roll of Somerset County, Maryland (Calvert Papers No. 885, f. 261) it is recorded after "Fishing Harbour," that the land was then possessed "By Thomas Fenwick att Sussex County—Hore Kill." (Whore-kills, now Lewes.) Thomas Fenwick sold "Fishing Harbour" to William Fassitt (Fassett), February 26, 1707/8. (Land Office, Rent-roll, Somerset County, Vol. I, f. 123.) In the will of William Fassitt, merchant, of Somerset County, dated January 22, 1734/5, the testator left to his sons, William and John Fassitt, jointly, Fishing Harbour alias Fenixes Island. (Baldwin's *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, VII, 140.) The certificate of survey of "Fishing Harbour" describes the land as "an island." It calls for the heads of the two inlets, Assawoman and Mattapany. (Land Office, Patent Records for Land, Liber 21, f. 296.)

³³ See deposition of William Burton, aet. 62, before the Boundary Commission,

were formerly considered to lie about three-quarters of a mile below the Delaware line.³⁴ Hereabouts, there was probably once an inlet. The island's northern bounds were old Assawoman Inlet, which entered the sea at or very near the state line.³⁵ The western end of this inlet is still commemorated by the name of a projection of marsh on the east side of Little Assawoman Bay—*Old Inlet Point*.³⁶ A vestige of Assawoman Inlet is, in all probability, to be seen in the fresh water pond, which lies between Fenwick's Island Lighthouse and the ocean, and is bisected by the coastal highway.³⁷ Descried from the sea for the first time, the tall woods on the island, the break in the shore line at the entrance to Assawoman Inlet, and the elevation of the land above the low, treeless strand to the northward—all combined to deceive the inexperienced mariner by creating the illusion of a headland, which vanished as he sailed nearer, and gave credence to the testimony of those who maintained that this was the

1740. (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, XVI, 675.) Burton testified that he "has been in a high wood of about 100 Acres on Fenwick's Island." Boudoin Robins testified before the same commission that the land at "Phenixs Island" was "somewhat higher than the rest of the Land about." (*Ibid.*, p. 782.) A Maryland Geological Survey soil-map of Worcester County shows soil on Fenwick's Island in contrast to the adjacent sands.

³⁴ See Note 9.

³⁵ Marye, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 9, 10, 11. The statement that Fenwick's Island lay between the two inlets, Assawoman and Mattapany, is untrue. The "Island" lay south of these inlets, and, upon the fixing of the boundary line, fell almost wholly in Maryland. The theory that it was the scene of Henry Norwood's adventure in 1650, has been abandoned by this author. Assawoman (Assawarmett) Inlet was also known as Fenicks or Fenwick's Inlet (deposition of William Waples before Boundary Commission, 1740, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, XVI, 668).

³⁶ In the interest of accuracy it should be admitted that this place-name may refer to Mattapany Inlet. The heads of these inlets seem to have been close to one another. On March 8, 1743, Thomas Dorsey took up a tract of land called "Fowls Delight," "Beginning at a marked cedar Post standing about a Quarter of a Mile from the sea in a large Marsh called *the Old Inlett Marsh* and on the south side of a Bay called Assawaman Bay" (Land Office, Patent Records, Liber B. Y. & G. S. No. 1, f. 499). Assawoman Bay is now Little Assawoman Bay (see above). It is a pity that we have been unable to ascertain the situation of this land exactly, for it is certainly significant.

³⁷ This information is contained in a letter addressed, December 8, 1939, by Mr. John W. Hudson to Mr. C. A. Weslager, now President of the Delaware Archaeological Society, for which this author is indebted to Mr. Weslager. Mr. Hudson, at the time of writing, had been, since 1907, with the United States Coast Guard stationed at Fenwick's Island:

"... there is or was a fresh pond of considerable extent to the Eastward of the lighthouse property (i. e., at Fenwick's Island). 'It was approximately ¼ mile in length and from 50 yards to 100 yards in breadth and of an approximate depth from 12 to 20 inches.' But last year they ran the Coastal Highway up the beach and right through the pond; therefore that makes it rather small now owing to the extensive fill required to make the roadway. . . ."

so-called False Cape.³⁸ According to seemingly reliable deponents, the Dutch, now more than three hundred years ago, affixed to a tree on this island a brass plate stamped with the figure of a ship, to mark the southern boundary of their claims.³⁹

North of Fenwick's Island the insular aspects of the seashore continued. There Assawoman Inlet formed with Mattapany⁴⁰ Inlet still another coastal island; nor is it certain that this was the end of the island chain which belted this stretch of coast far down into Virginia.⁴¹

³⁸ See deposition of William Burton referred to in Note 33: ". . . Fenick's Island . . . he has been informed by Sailors, has the Appearance of a Cape from the Sea; but as it is approached, that Appearance vanishes, and there is no Cape at all; That is by some People called False Cape, and by other Fenick's Island." Taken, A. D. 1740, before Boundary Commission. The False Cape was shuttled up and down the coast, from Cape Henlopen to Fenwick's Island, by eighteenth century cartographers. On Joshua Fisher's rare *Chart of Delaware Bay*, 1756, the False Cape is placed between Rehoboth and Cape Henlopen; but on Lewis Evans' *Map of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York*, 1749, it is situated at Fenwick's Island.

³⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, XVI, 663, 665, 665, 670, 672, 778: depositions of Elizabeth Morris, Samuel Preston, John Teague, John Prettyman, John Anderson and Margaret Simpson, before Boundary Commission, 1740. According to Teague's deposition (he was aged 85), the brass plate in the course of years had been grown over with bark and was entirely forgotten, until the tree, to which it was nailed, was cut down and split up into fence rails, whereupon it was discovered. This discovery seems to have been made, when Thomas Fenwick was the owner of the island, i. e., before 1708.

⁴⁰ For Mattapany Inlet see *Indian Towns of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County*, cited above (Note 39). These inlets, heading up in the marshes of (Little) Assawoman Bay, formed an island, which was composed partly of sands, partly of marshes. This section of the Delaware coast, as seen from Fenwick's Island Lighthouse, is practically treeless. *Mattapany* was one of the commonest place-names of the Algonkian Indians in tidewater Virginia and Maryland.

⁴¹ There is certainly some significance in the fact that the upper part, or head, of (Little) Assawoman Bay above the Narrows was formerly called *Inlet Creek*. It suggests the former existence of an inlet between Mattapany Inlet and a place two miles south of Bethany Beach, where the mainland and the seashore are united. For early references to Inlet Creek see the following certificates of survey: "Cowes Quarter," for Thomas Fenwick, April 12, 1686; "Cowe Pasture," for William Stevens, April 19, 1686; "Howard's Desire," for ditto, April 13, 1686; "Coard's Lott," for Col. William Digges, April 27, 1688. (Land Office, Patent Records, Liber 22, pp. 276, 281, 305, 387). North of Bethany Beach lies "Scarborough's Adventure," 500 acres, surveyed for Mathew Scarborough, May 3, 1687, situate between the sea and two ponds, both of which are still to be seen: The Fresh Pond and the Salt Pond, which are called for in the certificate of survey. (Land Office, Patent Records, Libert 22, f. 354.) This certificate also calls for "a small inlet issuing out of the sea," which, apparently, at that time connected the Salt Pond with the ocean. Surveyed the same day for the aforesaid Scarborough was "Middlesex," 500 acres, adjoining "Scarborough's Adventure" on the south (*Ibid.*). The following year Scarborough took up "North Petherton" and "South Petherton." The former extends southwards along the coast from the southeastern end of the Salt Pond. (Land Office, Patent Records, Liber 22, f. 392.) The latter lies between the sea and Inlet Creek. (Land Office, Patent Records, Liber

The welding of so many islands into a continuous, unbroken beach as a result of the obliteration of inlets is a remarkable fact. Violent storms account for the change in separate instances; but this does not explain why the new inlets, which the same forces created, were apparently short lived, so that not a single natural inlet remains within the area under consideration. Is it possible that an elevation of our coast line has taken place in the past three centuries?

In most cases little or nothing is known as to the navigability and usefulness of these inlets. Assawoman Inlet seems to have afforded a harbor for small seagoing ships, but it is doubtful if it was navigable, except, of course for small craft, all the way from the sea into Little Assawoman Bay.⁴² Of one of the "creeks" or inlets, which made an island of the desolate pine woods where Norwood and his shipmates were marooned, it is recorded, that "it could harbour our ship" and had a "depth of water on the bar sufficient for her draught when she was light."⁴³ Norwood's cousin, Francis Cary, who explored the island, reported that "he had seen its whole extent, surrounded (as he believed) with water deeper than his head."⁴⁴ The valiant Norwood at first considered the chances of swimming "to the main" at a place where the "creek" was only one hundred yards wide,⁴⁵ a project which was abandoned as foolhardy, because of the bitter cold.

OLD SINEPUXENT INLET

Sinepuxent Inlet emerges from the obscurity of unrecorded history in the last decade of the seventeenth century. It is shown on divers maps, notably, on Lewis Evans' *General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America*, 1755; on Griffith's *Map of Maryland*, 1794; on a *Map of the States of Maryland and Delaware from the latest Surveys*, published by Messrs. Weyland, Reid and

C. No. 3, f. 286). "North Petherton" and "South Petherton" are tied together by a later survey, "Evans' Part," which was patented to William Evans, June 30, 1741. (Land Office, Patent Records, Liber E. I. No. 5, f. 564.) These were Maryland surveys, taken up within the confines of the Duke of York's Manor.

⁴² John Prettyman, aged forty-two years, deposing before the Boundary Commission in the year 1740, declared that "his father about forty-three years ago removed from Virginia and came into the Inlett near Fenwick's Island and loaded his goods upon the same Island," &c. (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, XVI, 670.)

⁴³ Henry Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Smith, 1795; and on an unpublished map of Worcester County, Maryland, drawn about 1800 by James Bowdoin Robins.⁴⁶ Griffith shows a break or opening in the coast nearly four miles wide. The channel of the inlet, according to the same authority, has a width of only three-quarters of a mile, however. It is bounded on the north by shoals or quicksands three miles in extent from north to south. Shallows or quaking sands of lesser extent lie between it and South Beach. The main channel of Sinepuxent Inlet lay almost due east of the southeastern side of an island, which Griffith calls Drum Island, and which is known today as Tingle's Island.⁴⁷ The northern point of its entrance from the sound appears to have lain approximately east of the island called Lumber Marsh. Shoals included, the width of the inlet, according to Griffith, seems exaggerated.

Drama attends the first recorded mention of Sinepuxent Inlet. On September 3rd, 1698, the Justices of the Peace of the town of

⁴⁶ This valuable, unpublished map, a photograph of which was kindly given to the author by Mr. Arthur Trader, bears this endorsement: "The property of Geo Wm. Smith, Snow Hill, Md. Copied in 1852 by Miss Fannie Piper of Balti[more] from a very old map said to be drawn by Hon. James B. Robins about the year — [pre]vious to his appointment as Judge. Copied in September 1927 from the Copy in 1852 by Wm. D. Pitts, Berlin, Md." James B. Robins (1771-1826), son of Major John and Anna (Spence) Robins, of "Fairfield," Worcester County, was appointed Judge of the Fourth District Bench in 1804. (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI, 167-169.) "Fairfield" lies directly opposite South Beach and south-east of the site of Old Sinepuxent Inlet.

⁴⁷ Tingle's Island was taken up by Captain Daniel Tingle, February 19, 1813, under the name of "Tingle's Discovery." (Land Office, Patented Certificate No. 2520, Worcester County.) The survey is described as comprising all the land on an island (92 acres), "beginning at a marked sassafras post set up on the south east side of a shold (*sic*) or Island called and known by the name of the Great Shold abreast of Synepuxent Inlet and from thence running Round the said should or Island by & with the waters of the bay at high water mark," &c. On August 11, 1813, there was surveyed for James B. Robins "The Isles of May," 18¾ acres, "Beginning at the Northwestermost extreme of two Islands contiguous to each other, in Cynepuxent Bay, *nearly opposite the Inlet* & from whence the sd. Robins Dwelling house bears S. 86¾ W., thence bounding on the waters edge at low water mark . . . to a thoroughfare dividing these Islands from an Island surveyed for Daniel Tingle," &c. (Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 706, Worcester County.) Another mention of Sinepuxent Inlet will be found in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Mount Pleasant," laid out for Daniel Tingle, June 11, 1819, and afterwards resurveyed for him and called "Addition to Mount Pleasant" (Note 23). "Mount Pleasant" begins at a sassafras post set up "on the South beach near the edge of the south channel about one mile from Synepuxent Inlet" (Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 1758, Worcester County). Unidentified as to location is "Robins Pasture," surveyed for John Purnell Robins, April 1, 1772, beginning "at the west end of the first sand Joining to the south end of a Thorrafare commonly called the Old Inlet and on the east side of the Aforesaid Inlet," &c. (Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 1130, Worcester County).

Lewes, in a letter addressed to the Governor of Pennsylvania, reported the plundering of this settlement by fifty armed men from a "snug-ship" and a sloop. England was then at war with the French. The Justices added that the aforesaid sloop was supposed to be the property of John Redwood, of Philadelphia, "taken coming out of Cinnepuxon Inlett."⁴⁸ Here we have an interesting intimation of trade between the principal port of Pennsylvania, then only sixteen years old, and the Maryland seaboard plantations, via this inlet. In the year 1744 divers inhabitants of the upper parts of Worcester County took steps to bring about the erection of towns at Sinepuxent Inlet and Indian River, respectively.⁴⁹ As regards the inlet, nothing came of this petition, the main object of which seems to have been "to repel any enemy's Landing on the sea-side of the county."⁵⁰ On March 6th, 1776, Cumberland Dugan, a well-known Baltimore merchant, proposed to the Council of Maryland that it give its approval of his shipping a quantity of corn to Maryland in a brig then lying at Boston, of which he was the owner. He explains, that, in case British ships should be in the Chesapeake, when the brig arrived at the capes, her master could learn of this fact in time to put in at "Chincoteague, Sinnepuxent, or some other inlet there."⁵¹ Two years later Sinepuxent Inlet was fortified and a company of the local militia was stationed there.⁵² In 1780 the Council directed the Justices of Worcester County to ship certain stores of corn, which had been requisitioned in that county, to the Quartermaster General at Trenton, via Sinepuxent Inlet.⁵³ This sporadic mention of Sinepuxent Inlet down the years, like the occasional lightning of a weak electrical storm, illuminates momentarily a darkness, under cover of which, we may be sure, not a few unrecorded events of human, if not of historical, interest took place. In the report of a commission appointed to survey the ocean sounds of Maryland, Delaware and Virginia, to which reference has already been made, we find the following

⁴⁸ *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware*, compiled by the Rev. C. H. B. Turner (Lewes, 1909), p. 41.

⁴⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. 42, p. 457.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 625.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 204. See also *ibid.*, XVI, 328: Advice of the Council to captain of a privateer (1777); Sinepuxent Inlet best port for a prize.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XVI, 286.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XLIII, 151.

interesting remarks, written only fifteen years after Sinepuxent Inlet had ceased to be of use:

Violent storms, north-easters, as they are familiarly termed by those who frequently witness and suffer from their invasions, occasionally pass the ocean waters and sand across the line of beach and open for a short period old Sinepuxent Inlet, which has not been, since 1819, of any continued importance. And its present openings, so far from affording any advantages, seem only to precede, as they afford a better opportunity for, new and harrassing changes in the channel of the sound. Attempts have been several times, and again of late, made to open by artificial means, an inlet rather higher up the point than the point of the Old Inlet.⁵⁴

A photograph, taken on the site of Old Sinepuxent Inlet, will be found in the late Swepson Earle's *Maryland's Colonial Eastern Shore*.⁵⁵

FORMER OCCUPATIONS AND DIVERSIONS OF THE SHORE

Among the minor occupations and interests which drew people to the sea coast of Maryland in times past was that of gathering sea birds' eggs in season. The chief centres of this activity seem to have been two sandy islands lying side by side off the South Point of Sinepuxent Neck, but near to the beach. These islands, the breeding places of a multitude of sea birds, are known, respectively, as Great Egg Beach and Little Egg Beach, otherwise called Great and Little Egging Beaches. In the 90's of the past century and earlier they were the goal of annual picnics organized on the adjacent mainland. The poetical, if destructive, business of searching for eggs in the sand was the principal diversion of these frolics, from which the visitors returned with buckets full of the wild harvest.⁵⁶ Those were the happy days before a glance from the stern face of Conservation made it impossible for any one of adult age to enjoy such simple delights with a clear conscience. How far back in the past this local custom should be

⁵⁴ *Report of a Commission for the Survey of Sounds . . .* (1834), p. 11.

⁵⁵ *Maryland's Colonial Eastern Shore* (1916), p. 11.

⁵⁶ Dr. R. V. Truitt to William B. Marye, January 26, 1945. Little Egging Beach (Little Egg Island, Little Egg Beach) was more productive of eggs than its neighbor, Great (Big) Egging Beach. Other "egging" areas on the Maryland coast were: (1) in the Green Run Beach section and (2) near North Beach. Members of the old beach communities used regularly to supplement their diet in season with eggs from these beaches. (Information from Dr. Truitt.)

dated we have no means of telling, but the oviferous sands of these islands were certainly known already in colonial times.⁵⁷

Another beach "crop" appears to have been the driftwood and ships' timbers cast up by the waves. We base this inference on the name of an island, Lumber Marsh,⁵⁸ which lies in the sound at the old entrance of Sinepuxent Inlet, where, no doubt, it formerly intercepted much floating debris drawn into, or towards, that inlet on the racing, eddying tides.

Not the least of the legitimate occupations of the coast of Maryland was salt-making. Already in aboriginal times the natives made salt by the sea in the Carolinas,⁵⁹ and it is not excluded that the Indians of Maryland followed the same practice. As early as 1628 the Council of Virginia took steps to find places on the Eastern Shore convenient "for experimenting in making salt by the sun,"⁶⁰ and by 1630 a salt-works was in operation "at Accomack."⁶¹ It may be worthy of note that as late as 1852 there were salt-works on Chincoteague Inlet, at the southernmost end of Assateague Island.⁶² The history of this seaside industry

⁵⁷ On April 1, 1772, there was surveyed for James Purnell Robins a tract of land called "Robins Convenience," "beginning at the North West end of the Highest Sand hill on an Island or beach called the Egg beach," &c. (Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 1129, Worcester County). This land was resurveyed for James B. Robbins, June 4, 1807, and called "Egg Beach Island" (46¾ acres). (Land Office, Patented Certificate No. 856A, Worcester County). It is described as lying off the thoroughfare (inlet?) at South Point. On June 21, 1809, Benjamin Purnell took up "Brant Island," 2¼ acres, situated "between the Islands called the large Egg Beach Island and the Lumber Marsh." (Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 225, Worcester County.) "Purnell's Choice," 3 acres, surveyed for Benjamin Purnell and Nathaniel Davis, on the same day, lies between Brant Island and Large Egg Beach Island, according to the certificate of survey. (Land Office, Unpatented Certificate No. 1091, Worcester County.) On his Chart of the Waters between Chincoteague Inlet and Fenwick's Island, 1835, J. H. Alexander calls the Egg Islands "Sinepuxent Hammock." Martinet, *Atlas of Maryland*, 1866, has "Egging Beach." Great and Little Egging Beach are both shown on Lake, Griffing and Stevenson's *Atlas of Worcester County*, 1877.

⁵⁸ Lumber Marsh is mentioned in the certificate of survey of "Brant Island," June 21, 1809. (Note 57.) This marsh was not taken up until 1922. (Land Office, Patented Certificate No. 1610A, Worcester County.)

⁵⁹ "Original Narratives of Early American History," *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, Alexander S. Salley, Jr., Editor (1911), p. 28: Francis Yeardley to John Farrar, Esq., dated, Virginia, Lynn Haven, May 8, 1656, recounting a journey into a wilderness now part of North Carolina: "There is another great nation by these [the Cacoes] called the Haynokes, who valiantly resist the Spaniards further northern attempts. The Tuscaroras told them, the way to the sea was a plain road, much travelled for salt and copper; the salt is made by the sea itself, and some of it brought in to me."

⁶⁰ *Minutes of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, p. 174.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

⁶² Fielding Lucas, *Map of Maryland*, 1852, shows these salt works. Chincoteague Inlet is called "Monroe Inlet."

in Maryland is more obscure than it probably deserves to be. During the first half of the eighteenth century salt was scarce in this Province, being insufficient in quantity to meet the demands of its fisheries and the needs of the stock belonging to backwoods plantations. More than once the Assembly took steps with a view to obtaining permission of Parliament to import salt from Europe, particularly from Portugal, where it was cheap.⁶³ But if this constant demand resulted in the building of salt-works on the seaside, we have not as yet found any records to that effect. In later Republican times works for obtaining salt from the ocean were situated on the beach in at least two places, namely, (1) on a creek making up from the sound a little over a mile below the Delaware line;⁶⁴ (2) on the northern side of Sinepuxent Inlet.

The salt-works at Sinepuxent Inlet doubtless came into being under the impetus and necessity of the Revolution. They were operated by the Baltimore Salt Company, of which Mr. Mark Alexander and the Messrs. Lemmon were members. In the year 1777 the Council instructed a certain Captain Furnivall to take nine Hessian prisoners to these salt-works under an order of the Board of War, or as many of them as were willing to go.⁶⁵ A chart of 1835 shows these salt-works as situated on the beach due east of Lumber Marsh,⁶⁶ while maps of a much later date—1877

⁶³ *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, 27, 457; XXXIX, 306; XL, 2; XLVI, 68, 80, 81; L, 266, 267.

⁶⁴ These salt-works are mentioned and their location given in the certificate of survey and plat of "Fassett's Luck Enlarged," July 24, 1807 (Note 9). A resurvey called "Addition to Fassett's Luck Enlarged" was made for James Fassett, Sr., October 20, 1813. (Land Office, Patented Certificate No. 81, Worcester County.) On the vacant land which was included in this resurvey there were found "3 old slab salt houses." These salt works appear to have been the property of the Fassett family. On July 25, 1857, Mary C. Hall sold to James Burch all those lands known as the Fenwick's Island property, lying partly in Maryland and partly in Delaware, which she inherited by the will of her father, James Fassitt, including "Fishing Harbour" and "Fassitt's Luck Enlarged" (Land Office, Abstracts of Deeds, Worcester County, Liber W. C. No. 4, 1855-1861, p. 336). This deed is interesting, because of the connection of the Burch family with the salt-works at North Beach.

⁶⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 435; XLV, 48. In connection with these salt-works Dr. Truitt, in a letter to this author, February 3, 1945, gives the following interesting and valuable information:

"... I remember quite well being told about the colonists or the British (it was always indefinite and seemingly far removed) having run tremendous evaporation plants in that area" (North Beach). "The story was that the salt was lightered across the Bay and freighted by ox cart up the Peninsula, on the one hand, or shipped to New York by schooner, on the other."

⁶⁶ This refers to Alexander's Chart of the Waters Between Chincoteague Inlet and Fenwick's Island, 1835.

and 1885, respectively—show them in approximately the same location.⁶⁷

WRECKS AND WRECKMASTERS

Wrecks are no longer thought of as useful and much-to-be-desired by-products of the shipping industry, but the inhabitants of our sea coast and of all the other sea coasts in the civilized world used to regard them in this light, until wreck-wardens, beach patrols and coast guards reduced salvage to the amount prescribed by law and discouraged seaside looting. It is related that a certain clergyman in the Orkneys, in offering prayers "for those in peril on the sea," was known to have adjured the Almighty not to forget the shores of his parish and the good people thereof, in the even that, in His infinite wisdom, shipwrecks there must be. While there is not enough evidence to convict the former dwellers on Maryland's seaboard of having been habitual plunderers of lost vessels which conveniently foundered within their bailiwick, local history has salvaged from the sands of time certain key fragments of a story from which the structure of the whole may be partly guessed.

In the year 1750 a Spanish ship, *The Greyhound*, Daniel Huony, master, came ashore on Assateague Island in Maryland and there lay, a prey to the elements, less than twice her length above the Virginia line. News of this disaster, or rather, of this windfall, soon drew people to the scene both from Maryland and Virginia, who cut up her decks and carried away everything of value they could lay their hands on, excepting a cargo consisting of some two hundred planks of mahogany, which, on being cast on shore during a storm that broke up the hull of the vessel, was transported to Snow Hill by an enterprising gentleman, and there sold to a local merchant.⁶⁸

With the establishment of the office of Commissioner of Wrecks, in 1782,⁶⁹ Virginians were enabled to assume a virtuous attitude towards the people of Maryland, who were tardy in creating a similar post. The county of Accomac is held in great

⁶⁷ Lake, Griffing and Stevenson's *Atlas of Worcester County*, 1877, pp. 50-51, shows Birch's Salt Works somewhat south of east with reference to Lumber Marsh. Martinet's *Map of Maryland*, 1885, shows salt-works definitely south-east of Lumber Marsh.

⁶⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII, 493, 494.

⁶⁹ *Hening's Statutes*, IX, 51.

odium on account of the " robberies made on Wrecked vessels," writes John Teackle, the then Commissioner of Wrecks, to the Governor of Virginia, under date of April 8th, 1784. This ill repute of his county he blames upon the Marylanders, who seem to consider themselves " privileged to embezzle from wrecked vessels," for which nefarious business the island of Assateague, famous for its shoals, and on which three valuable ships have lately been stranded, affords all too many opportunities. Notice of shipwrecks, he alleges, was commonly sent to Marylanders on the mainland, involved in these illicit practices, by the island people, their confederates.⁷⁰ Seventeen years behind her sister state in the matter of breaking up the looting of wrecked ships, the Maryland Assembly, in 1799, passed an act for appointing a wreck-master in Worcester County.⁷¹ Reviewing the situation which called for this appointment, the legislators took cognizance of the fact that " from the exposure of the south east bounds of Worcester County to the Atlantic Ocean many vessels have been and may hereafter be stranded on the seacoast of the county aforesaid, and the goods and other property belonging to such vessels may be embezzled and stolen to the great injury of the owners and insurers." The wreck-master of the county was empowered, upon notice of a shipwreck or of the imminence of such disaster, to command constables to press as many men into service as might be needed, and was further authorized to demand assistance of commanders of vessels which might be riding in the vicinity of the disaster, under forfeit of £100. The law further provided that persons found stealing from vessels in distress pumps or other articles the loss of which could contribute to a shipwreck, should suffer death without benefit of clergy.

In this way law and order came to the seacoast of Maryland about a century and a half ago.

The dwellers on the seashore of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina were known as " bankers " from the fact that they lived among, or adjacent to, the sand banks of the coast. In North Carolina, long years ago, they appear to have exhibited a wildness which, perhaps, was not so characteristic of them farther north. It is recorded of the North Carolina " bankers " that they were " a set of People who live on certain sandy Islands lying

⁷⁰ *Virginia State Papers*, III, 1782-1784, p. 572.

⁷¹ *Acts of the Maryland Assembly, November Session, 1799*, Chapter 82.

between the Sound and the Ocean, and who are very wild and ungovernable, so that it is seldom possible to execute any Civil or Criminal Writs among them." This was in connection with the wreck of a Spanish ship, which bore the sonorous name of the *Neustra Señora de Guadalupe*, and was laden with a cargo valued at 100,000 pieces of eight. This disaster occurred "at Ocacock" (Ocracoke) in the year 1750. It was feared that the "bankers" might descend upon the hapless ship in a body and pillage her, the more so as they, themselves, had suffered from the depredations of a Spanish crew some three years before, having had all their cattle and hogs taken from them.⁷² From this it appears that the "bankers" were sometimes the victims of seafaring people.

EVOLUTION OF A SEASHORE RESORT

The business of putting up hotels and boarding houses and of laying out the beach in lots as sites for seaside cottages, all primarily with a view to sea-bathing, was the last and greatest of the economic possibilities of Maryland's sea coast to be developed. It arrived relatively late on these shores, with respect to the Jersey coast, for example. Casual sea-bathing in Maryland doubtless goes back to prehistoric times, but the mass movement to the sea, which began only in the past century, was probably largely hydropathic and owed its beginnings to the recommendations of the "medicos."

More than a decade before the founding of the town the site of Ocean City was drawing people in summer to that beach, where, we may safely imagine, some more or less primitive bath-houses had already been erected for their convenience. On Martinet's map of Worcester County, 1866, we find the arresting words "Ocean House" with respect to a spot on the western side of Sinepuxent Bay, at the place where that estuary is narrowest, that is, directly opposite the site of the future "resort." A friend

⁷² *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IV, 1305. Five other Spanish ships came to grief on this coast in a great storm which occurred on August 18, 1750. (*Ibid.*, pp. 1304 *et seq.*). Spanish wrecks, of which, it would seem, there were not a few, are the favorite subject of romantic tradition. Not far below Ocean City is "Money Beach," where, it is said, Spanish gold pieces indicative of a Spanish wreck are occasionally found. One of these gold coins, which was seen by the late Miss Emily Emerson Lantz, bears the date "1801." (Lantz, *The Spirit of Maryland* (1929), p. 347).

of this author tells him that his mother, whose home was in Salisbury, used to get up at midnight and drive to a farm on Sinepuxent Bay, in order to enjoy a day's picnic on the beach. This, as I understood it, was in the '60's, and must have represented what was by that time a pretty general custom. An implication that such was the fact is to be found in the name of a land-grant—"The Ladies' Resort to the Ocean"⁷³—which was patented by Messrs. Benson and Taber in the year 1868, on the site of Ocean City proper. In our mind's eye we see the ladies of those distant, mid-Victorian days timorously "resorting" to the surf from the then almost uninhabited beach, clad in sleeved and skirted bathing-suits, stockings and hats, which left only their faces and hands chastely visible. Very lady-like indeed were their cries of more or less assumed fright and their tittering as the first receding surge tugged at their nether extremities and threatened to draw them out towards the deep.

It is reliably reported that Ocean City was founded by a company of well meaning Eastern Shoremen and was formally opened to visitors on July 4th, 1875. The first hotels were the Atlantic (John Tracy, Proprietor), the Seaside and Congress Hall,⁷⁴ names simple, obvious, almost, as it were, unavoidable, except for that of Congress Hall, which was borrowed from that of an already well known hostelry at Cape May. To this day an Atlantic Hotel stands on the site of the old Atlantic, but Congress Hall, which was situated at the southern end of town, near the present new inlet, ended its days about forty years ago, and is remembered by this author only as a wretched-looking lodging house for professional fishermen.

Not until 1881 (or so it is said on good authority) was the

⁷³ "The Ladies Resort to the Ocean," 280 acres, surveyed for Hepburn S. Benson, of Washington, D. C., and Stephen Taber, of New York City, February 11, 1868, takes up the site of the oldest part of Ocean City (Land Office, Patented Certificate No. 1474, Worcester County). For the same parties was surveyed "Beach House Island," September 18, 1868, on the beach, at the head of Sinepuxent Bay, including Duck Island and Brant Island. (Patented Certificate No. 280, Worcester County.)

⁷⁴ The Seaside is reported to have been the first hotel built at Ocean City. The Atlantic Hotel was advertised in the *Baltimore American* of July 1, 1876. It is described as a "new sea-side resort" situated at Ocean City, Sinepuxent Beach, Maryland, affording "splendid bathing, either Ocean or Bay." The Seaside was advertised in the *American* of July 2, 1880, where also we find an advertisement of Scott's Ocean House, Green Run Beach. Congress Hall was advertised in the *American* of July 2, 1881.

railroad extended to Ocean City from a terminus on the western side of Sinepuxent Bay, and before that time, visitors already disheartened by what used to be one of the sootiest rides ever known in the realm of the Iron Horse, piled out of the coaches at the bayside landing and were transported across the bay in scows to their destination. Realizing, no doubt, that the prospect of this inconvenience might have a distressing effect on persons in Baltimore and elsewhere, who contemplated a trip to Ocean City for their health, the gentlemen, who wrote advertisements of the local hotels for Baltimore newspapers, considerably forbore to call it to the attention of prospective guests. Well may we imagine the sensations of these excursionists, as they crossed the Sinepuxent in a violent thunderstorm or a north-easter, or departed in a contrary direction under similar dramatic circumstances.

Judged by its apparent success, Ocean City made many friends and advocates at the outset, and we know of only one dissenting voice, which was that of a distinguished Baltimore lawyer, who always referred to the town as "O Shun City," little dreaming that he, himself, in spite of his aversion to the place, was destined to die there! ⁷⁵

Of somewhat later date than the hostelries above mentioned, the Plimhimmon, named for the old Tilghman estate near Oxford, Talbot County, and long associated with the personality of the clever and capable Mr. Ijams, its manager, was built in the 1880's by Mrs. Rosalie (Tilghman) Shreve, whom this author will always pleasantly remember. In the summer of 1896 the author, then, of course, a mere child, was a guest at the "Plim" for the first time, and even then Mr. Ijams was already installed in the position which he still held forty years later. His manifest love of the sea did not preclude a seeming distaste for active personal contact with that element, and he was seldom, if ever, seen in a bathing suit.

BOARDING AND BAITING *SUPER MARE*

In the early days of Ocean City the rates at the best hotels ranged from \$12.00 to \$15.00 per week. In view of the modera-

⁷⁵ This gentleman was Richard James Gittings, law partner of Messrs. Arthur W. Machen, Sr., and David McIntosh, who died at Congress Hall, August 2nd, 1882, while on a visit to Ocean City in search of health on the recommendation of his physician.

tion of these charges waste and lavishness were hardly in order. So, at least, thought one of the local proprietors, who sat at the head of a vast dining-room table, facing his guests, as was then the custom. It is related that this gentleman was such a deft and expert carver and could divide a ham into portions so thin, that the floor of the dining-room might have been covered with the slices!

Another man of affairs, to whom the destinies of a local hotel were entrusted, was no less adept in his way. The "victim" of a prank played by this quick-witted individual related the episode to this author many years ago, and not without acerbity. This gentleman, a Baltimorean, had gone to Ocean City, suffering from an internal ailment and with strict orders from his physician to drink nothing but pure spring water. Accordingly, he requested the manager of his hotel to see that he was supplied daily, at his own charge, with certain well-known, commercialized, bottled waters. On hearing this, the manager, a somewhat disillusioned man, exclaimed: "Why, my dear sir, it's quite unnecessary for you to put yourself to all that expense, when this hotel supplies its guests with the very same water, free." So saying, he pointed to a large inverted glass bottle bearing on its side in relief the name of the company which marketed the aforesaid spring water. Accordingly, the trusting gentleman from Baltimore helped himself freely and exclusively to water from this drinking-fountain, and in a few days was confined to bed with a severe attack of his ailment, as to the true cause of which "setback" he did not entertain the slightest doubt.

Society at Ocean City in old times was a happy-go-lucky, informal, but eminently genteel "consolation party." Differences in this respect as between hotels were to be noted, and more or less voluntary segregation was not unknown.

THE BOARDWALK AND THE BUNGALOW INVADE THE SOLITUDES

In spite of its early growth, popularity and prosperity, Ocean City, for many years after it was founded, extended ("straggled" would be a better word) no further up the beach than the Catholic monastery, and there stopped, as if some sort of a spell held it in check. From the monastery to Fenwick's Island, between the ocean and the sounds, there stretched a waste of dunes and

salt marshes, forever fluttered and sailed over by sea birds. The dream of transforming this briny wilderness into hundreds of geometrical building lots for cottages and bungalows did not begin to be realized until the road up the beach to Rehoboth was built. With the progressive extinction of these solitudes even the majesty and magic of the sea seems to us somehow diminished at Ocean City; and the remark we once read in a semi-official prospectus, which set forth the advantages of the town as a vacation resort, sounds less odd today than it did two or three decades ago. It ran something like this:

Among the attractions of Ocean City we must not forget to mention the Ocean.⁷⁶

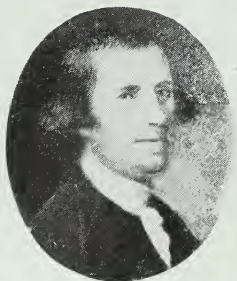
Perhaps, after all, poets alone are qualified to speak of the obsessing mystery of a solitude by the sea. At least, when they do so, they only are listened to with respect, and are not glibly accused of sentimentality. Therefore, let a poet bear witness to the sorrow which haunts a seaside waste:

"One with the ruined sunset,
The strange forsaken sands,
What is it waits and wanders
And signs with desperate hands?"

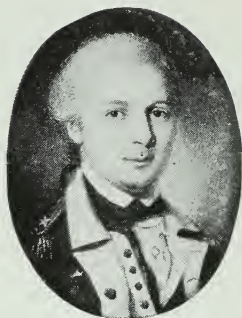
"What is it calls in the twilight—
Calls as its chance were vain?
The cry of a gull sent seaward
Or the voice of an ancient pain?"

When the sands are no longer "forsaken" and the surveyor drives his stakes into them and lays off the beach in lots, the plaintive, disembodied voice, which the poet heard at sundown among the dunes and on the borders of the salt marshes, grows fainter and fainter. Soon it is audible no longer. The swarm of intruding strangers has exorcised the ghost. Progress and improvement, as they affect "nature," are almost always attended by loss. This is the lesson.

⁷⁶ This artless admission that the ocean was one of the chief features of Ocean City attracted the observant eye of a Baltimore author, the late Jesse Lee Bennett, who called it to the attention of his friends, to the accompaniment of bursts of merriment. It was one of the many charms of this much lamented Baltimorean that in his wide reading he found and imparted to others cause for mirth in printed matter which was never so humble as to be beneath his notice.



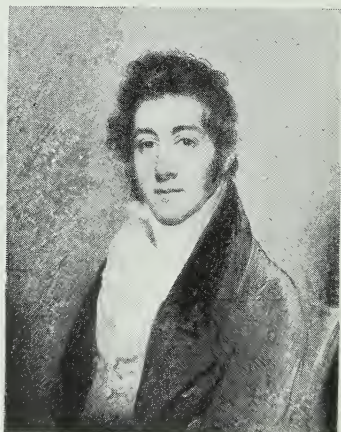
JOSEPH NICHOLSON, JR.
By Charles Willson Peale



OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS
By Charles Willson Peale



MARY VIRGINIA GREENWAY
AND
WILLIAM HENRY GREENWAY
By John Carlin 1851



BENJAMIN I. COHEN
By Joseph Wood 182-

HAND-LIST OF MINIATURES IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

It is hardly necessary to explain the need or reason for this hand-list of miniatures in the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Such a list, including portraits in all media, has been in request for many years.

It has been deemed advisable, before compilation of a comprehensive work, which would include approximately a thousand subjects, and while the accessioning of accumulations of a hundred years is in progress, to issue preliminary hand-lists by classifications. Thus, while a survey is in progress, the results of such preliminary study will become available.

Any work with the paintings in the Society's Collection would have been impossible without the investigations of this and other Maryland collections carried on by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, to whom I am indebted for having laid the foundations for what would otherwise have been an almost endless undertaking. The biographical data, especially, has been drawn from his files.

Unless otherwise noted all the works listed are oval and on ivory; R represents rectangular; when an item is circular it is so stated. Measurements are given in inches.

FELIX AGNUS (1839-1925)

Owner and editor of the *Baltimore American and Star*. Distinguished Union officer in the Civil War.

By C. Victor. Signed: *C. Victor*. 4 x 3

Gift of Mrs. P. B. Key Daingerfield. 35.32.1

ELISA BONAPARTE (Madame Bacciochi) (1777-1820)

Grand Duchess of Tuscany.

Unattributed European. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.54

COMMODORE WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE, U. S. N. (1774-1833)

He rendered distinguished service in the Mediterranean during wars with Algiers and Tripoli and in the War of 1812.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{4}$ circular

Lent by the Peabody Institute. 36.13.1

MRS. EPHRAIM FRANCIS BALDWIN (Ellen Douglas Jamison)
(1851-1935)

By Charles W. Dennis. Signed: *Chas. W. Dennis*. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$

Gift of Francis J. Baldwin. 38.1.1

COMMODORE JOSHUA BARNEY, U. S. N. (1759-1818)

Prominent American Naval Officer who saw service in the War of the Revolution and War of 1812, when he was in command of the Chesapeake Flotilla. In the service of France, 1794-1800.

By Bauzil. Signed: *Bauzil/Pinxit*. $2\frac{1}{2}$ circular

Bequest of Miss Caroline Remington. 20.31.1

COMMODORE JOSHUA BARNEY, U. S. N. (1759-1818)

(See above)

By Joseph Anton Couriguer. Signed: *A. Couriguer*. Wax miniature. Figure c. 4" high

Bequest of Miss Caroline Remington. 20.31.2

THE REVEREND JOSEPH GROVE JOHN BEND (1760-1812)

Rector of St. Paul's P. E. Church, Baltimore, from 1791 to 1812.

By James Peale. $2\frac{15}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. George B. Stone-Alcock. 33.2.1

MRS. JOSEPH GROVE JOHN BEND (Mary Boudinot) (d. 1804)

By Anna C. Peale. Signed: *Ann . . ./Pea . . ./18 . . 2\frac{7}{8}*
 $\times 2\frac{5}{16}$.

Gift of Mrs. George B. Stone-Alcock. 33.2.2

EDRIS BERKLEY

By Hans Heinrich Beebe. Inscription on back: *Edris Berkley/Aet. 45/Beebe/Baltimore*. $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.

The Henry J. Berkley Collection, xx. 2.16a-c

HUGH McCULLOH BIRCKHEAD (1788-1853)

Of the firm of Birkhead & Pearce, Baltimore merchants.

By Hans Heinrich Bebie. Signed: *Bebie*. $5\frac{7}{8} \times 5$ R.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.6

HUGH McCULLOH BIRCKHEAD (1788-1853)

(See above)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.8

MRS. HUGH McCULLOH BIRCKHEAD (Catherine Augusta McEvers) (1795-1868)

By Hans Heinrich Bebie. $5\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.7

MRS HUGH McCULLOH BIRCKHEAD (Catherine Augusta McEvers) (1795-1868)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.9

JEROME BONAPARTE (1784-1860)

Brother of Napoleon I. In 1803, when on a visit to the United States, he married Elizabeth ("Betsy") Patterson, daughter of William Patterson of Baltimore. The couple later sailed for France where Napoleon refused to receive Mme. Bonaparte and ultimately annulled the marriage. In 1807 Jerome was created King of Westphalia.

Unattributed European. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.58

JEROME BONAPARTE (1784-1860)

(See above)

Unattributed European. Enamel miniature. $2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ R.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection, xx.5.67

JEROME BONAPARTE (1784-1860)

(See above)

By Scotlo. Signed: *Scotlo/7bre/1805*. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ R.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.52

JEROME BONAPARTE (1784-1860)

(See above)

Unattributed European. $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ R.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.57

JEROME BONAPARTE (1784-1860)

(See above)

Unattributed European. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ R.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.53

JEROME NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (d. 1847)

Son of Jerome, King of Westphalia.

Attributed to Anna Pecchioli. $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.62

LAETITIA BONAPARTE ("Madame Mère") (1750-1836)

Mother of Napoleon I and Jerome Bonaparte.

By Anna Pecchioli. Signed: *Anna Pecchioli*. $2 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.61

LOUIS BONAPARTE (1778-1846)

King of Holland; father of Napoleon III.

By Oldoni. Signed: *Oldoni. ft.* $2\frac{5}{8}$ circular.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.56

LOUIS BONAPARTE (1778-1846)

(See above)

By Jean Baptiste Isabey. Signed: *Isabey*. $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{2}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.66

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)

Emperor of the French.

Unattributed European. $3 \times 2\frac{3}{8}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.55

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)

(See above)

Unattributed European. $\frac{9}{16} \times \frac{7}{16}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.65

PRINCE NAPOLEON (1822-1891)

Called "Plon-Plon." Second son of Jerome, King of Westphalia. He was a prominent liberal and held numerous positions under Napoleon III. Attributed to Anna Pecchioli. $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.63

MRS. JAMES BOSLEY (Elizabeth Nicholson Noel) (1797-1851)

By Anna C. Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale / 1823*. $3\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ R.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. xx.1.13

MRS. JOHN CHRISTIAN BRUNE (Anne Laetitia Coale) (1817-1856)

By Mary Jane Simes. Signed: *Painted by/Miss M. J. Simes/
Baltimore/1835*. 2 x 1 $\frac{1}{8}$.

The Redwood Collection. xx.4.189

NAPOLÉON CAMERATA

By Elie Morin. Signed: *Elie Morin*. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 1 $\frac{1}{16}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.60

NAPOLÉONE CAMERATA

By J. Lecourt. Signed: *J. Lecourt*. 2 x 1 $\frac{9}{16}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.59

JOSEPH CAMP

Served in 39th Maryland Militia, 1814.

Attributed to John Christian Rauschner. Wax miniature.
Figure c. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ " high.

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Whitridge. 14.1.1

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN CARROLL (1735-1815)

First American Roman Catholic Bishop and first Roman
Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore.

Unattributed American. Wax miniature. Figure c. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high.

Gift of Thomas H. Ellis. 1848.3.1

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN CARROLL (1735-1815)

(See above)

Unattributed American. Wax miniature. Figure c. 4" high.

Gift of Joseph Bokel. 11.1.1

MRS. BENNETT LLOYD CHEW (Anna Maria Tilghman) (d. 1811)

By Robert Field. Signed: *RF/1802*. 3 x 2 $\frac{3}{8}$.

Lent by the Peabody Institute. 24.24.2

EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (1776-1832)

Baltimore and Washington lawyer, publisher and bookseller.

By Benjamin Trott. 3 x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Redwood Collection. xx.4.191

MRS. EDWARD JOHNSON COALE (Mary Ann Buchanan) (1792-
1866)

By Benjamin Trott. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 2 $\frac{7}{16}$.

The Redwood Collection. xx.4.190

BENJAMIN I. COHEN (1797-1845)

Captain of the Marion Corps, Maryland Militia, 1823; one of
the founders of the Baltimore Stock Exchange, 1837.

By Benjamin Trott. 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ R.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.88

BENJAMIN I. COHEN (1797-1845)

(See above)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{9}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.87

BENJAMIN I. COHEN (1797-1845)

(See above)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.90

BENJAMIN I. COHEN (1797-1845)

(See above)

By Joseph Wood. Signed: PAINTED BY / J. Wood / 182—
4 x 3 R.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.5.—

MRS. BENJAMIN I. COHEN (Kitty Etting) (1799-1837)

Unattributed American. Oil on composition board. $3\frac{9}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ R.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.7

MRS. BENJAMIN I. COHEN (Kitty Etting) (1799-1837)

Unattributed American. Oil on composition board. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{15}{16}$ R.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. 38.7.89

ELEANOR S. COHEN (1858-1937)

Benefactor of the Maryland Historical Society.

By A. C. Leth. Signed: A. C. Leth 1894. $3 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.99

PRINCESS DEMIDOFF (Mathilde Bonaparte) (1820-1904)

Patroness of arts and letters.

By Anna Pecchioli. $1 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.64

DR. ROBERT EDWARD DORSEY (1796-1876)

Baltimore physician; Professor of Materia Medica at the University of Maryland, 1837-1839.

By Henry Inman. $2\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$.

The Redwood Collection. xx. 4.188

GEORGE NATHANIEL EATON (1811-1874)

Baltimore merchant. President of Baltimore School Board for nine years; Vice President of the Board of Trade.

By Richard Morrell Staigg. 4×3 .

The Eaton Collection. 30.21.1

MRS. GEORGE N. EATON (Susan Brimmer Mayhew) (1824-1886)

By Richard Morrell Staigg. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$.

The Eaton Collection. 20.21.2

SOLOMON ETTING (1764-1847)

One of the first Hebrews to hold office in Maryland. President of the First Branch of the Baltimore City Council; an incorporator of the Baltimore & Ohio R. R. He had some interest in Fulton's plans for steam vessels of war.

Unattributed American. Water color on paper. $3 \times 2\frac{3}{8}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.92.

SOLOMON ETTING (1764-1847)

(See above)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.94

ST. JOHN FARIS (1771-1796)

By Hiram Faris. $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.

Gift of Mrs. Miles White. 31.2.1

MAJOR JAMES FERGUSON (1769-1855)

Served in War of 1812.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2$.

Gift of Mrs. Charles Brantingham. 14.2.7

WOOLMAN GIBSON III (d. 1798)

Served in the Talbot County Militia during the Revolution.

By David Boudon. Signed: *Made/By David Boudon Limner/of Geneva Switzerland/in Talbot County/Obre 1796.*

Water color on card. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of W. Hopper Gibson. 27.9.1

RACHEL GRATZ (Mrs. Solomon Etting) (1764-1831)

Unattributed American. $1\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.91

DR. JOHN GRAY (1785-1823)

Of Sheridan's Point, Calvert County.

By John C. Bell. Signed: *I. C. Bell delin.* Sepia on paper. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ R.

Gift of F. H. Stockett. 1892.

MRS. EDWARD McDONALD GREENWAY (Maria Henrietta Taylor) (1797-1861)

Unattributed American. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.7

GEORGE WILLIAM GREENWAY (1849-1881)

By John Carlin. Signed: *J. Carlin*. $2\frac{3}{16}$ x $1\frac{3}{8}$

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.5

MARY CORNELIA GREENWAY (1824-1842)

By George Freeman. $4\frac{5}{16}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.12

MARY CORNELIA GREENWAY (1824-1842)

By George Freeman. $4\frac{5}{8}$ x $3\frac{5}{8}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.10

MARY CORNELIA GREENWAY (1824-1842)

By George Freeman. Signed: *Geo. Freeman pinxt/Oct. 1842*.
 $4\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{8}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.11

MARY VIRGINIA GREENWAY (1846-1912) and WILLIAM HENRY GREENWAY (1844-1939)

By John Carlin. Signed: *J. Carlin/1851*. $5\frac{3}{4}$ x $4\frac{1}{2}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.4

VIRGINIA CATHARINE GREENWAY (1828-1846)

By George Freeman. $4\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.17

WILLIAM HENRY GREENWAY (1844-1939)

By George Freeman. $2\frac{7}{8}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.1

WILLIAM HENRY GREENWAY (1844-1939)

By John Carlin. Signed: *J. Carlin*. $1\frac{5}{8}$ x $1\frac{3}{16}$.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.6

WILLIAM WALLACE TAYLOR GREENWAY (1817-1899)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{11}{16}$ x $2\frac{3}{16}$.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.9

WILLIAM WALLACE TAYLOR GREENWAY (1817-1899)

By George Freeman. $4\frac{3}{4}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.15

MRS. WILLIAM WALLACE TAYLOR GREENWAY (Maria Williams)
(1821-1892).

By George Freeman. $4\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{8}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.16

MRS. WILLIAM PRESTON GRIFFIN (Mary Lawrence)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{7}{8}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. xx.1.8

THOMAS BYROM GRUNDY (1790-1840)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. George B. Stone-Alcock. 33.2.4

MRS. THOMAS BYROM GRUNDY (Mary Jane Bend) (1796-1821)

By James Peale. Signed: *I P/13*. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. George B. Stone-Alcock. 33.2.3

THOMAS LLOYD HALSEY (1750-1838)

Of Providence, R. I. French agent for Rhode Island.

By Barrois. Signed: *Barrois*. $2\frac{1}{2}$ circular.

Lent by W. H. de Courcy Wright, Esq. 44.34.1

ALEXANDER CONTEE HANSON, JR.

Unattributed American. $1\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$.

Gift of Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin. 43.17.1

CAPTAIN ROBERT HARDIE (1798-1881)

Served on the privateer *Nonesuch* in 1812; captured and imprisoned in Dartmoor; later served in merchant marine.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{11}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$.

Gift of Miss Ella Howard Hardie. 24.1.3

CAPTAIN ROBERT HARDIE (1798-1881)

(See above)

By Mary James Simes. Signed: *Painted by/Miss Simes/Baltimore/18* . . $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2$.

Gift of Miss Ella Howard Hardie. 24.1.2

MRS. ROBERT HARDIE (Emily Jane McClure) (1808-1891)

By Mary James Simes. Signed: *Painted by/Miss M. J. Simes/Baltimore/1832*. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2$.

Gift of Miss Ella Howard Hardie. 24.1.1

ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER (1765-1825)

Of South Carolina and Maryland. Distinguished lawyer and statesman who saw service in the Revolution and in the War of 1812.

By Robert Field. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Clapham Pennington, Esq. 29.17.1

MRS. HALL HARRISON (Elizabeth Galt)

Attributed to Hans Heinrich Bebie. $2\frac{13}{16} \times 1\frac{13}{16}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 38.8.1

MRS. HALL HARRISON (Elizabeth Galt)

Attributed to Hans Heinrich Bebie. $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{15}{16}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 38.8.4

MRS. THOMAS HERTELL (Barbara Amelia Neely)

Unattributed American. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 25.32.1

MRS. HOAR

By Florence Mackubin. Signed: *Florence Mackubin* 1898. $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$.

Gift of Miss Kate Mackubin. 19.1.1

THOMAS HOPKINSON (1709-1751)

Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court of Pennsylvania; one of the founders of the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company and College of Philadelphia.

Unattributed American. Oil on panel. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$.

The Redwood Collection. xx.4.231

WILLIAM J. HYDE (1796-1885)

Baltimore merchant

Attributed to Rembrandt Peale. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{16}$.

Bequest of Miss Emma Hyde. 25.2.1

JAMES I OF ENGLAND (1566-1625)

Inset on patent creating George Calvert Lord Baltimore, 1624.

Unattributed English 17th Century. Watercolor on parchment. $9 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$.

Purchase—the Calvert Papers.

MRS. THOMAS JOHNSON, JR. (Charlotte Hesselius) (1770-1794)

Attributed to Jean Pierre Henri Elouis. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$.

Lent by Mrs. Mary Owings Clark. 32.16.1

COMMODORE EDMUND PENDLETON KENNEDY, U. S. N. (1780-1844)

He rendered gallant service in the war with Tripoli and at the time of his death was in command of the *Pennsylvania*, flagship of the squadron on the Norfolk station.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.

Lent by Murray L. Goldsborough, Esq. 40.28.1

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY (1779-1843)

Maryland lawyer, author of the National Anthem.

By Philippe Antoine Peticolos. $2\frac{1}{2}$ circular.

Purchase. 36.17.1

JAMES WILSON LEAKIN (1857-1922)

Baltimore lawyer and philanthropist.

By Nicholson. Signed: *Nicholson*. 3 x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Leakin Collection. 23.17.24

DAVID CARDOZA LEVY (1805-1877)

By A. C. Signed: *A. C.* 2 x 1 $\frac{5}{8}$

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.96

MRS. DAVID CARDOZA LEVY (1805-1899)

By A. C. Signed: *A. C.* 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 2 $\frac{9}{16}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.95

FIELDING LUCAS III (1812-1853)

Unattributed American. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{16}$ R.

Gift of Miss Ethel White. 43.2.3

THOMAS MARTIN MAUND (1794-1838)

Of Virginia and Maryland. Of the firm of Schaeffer and Maund, booksellers of Baltimore. Editor and one of the proprietors of the Baltimore *Morning Chronicle*, 1819-24.

By Wetmore. Signed: *Wetmore*; advertising card in back. 2 $\frac{11}{16}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Bequest of Miss Margaret E. Maund. 31.7.6

WILLIAM EDWARDS MAYHEW (1781-1860)

Baltimore merchant; president of Farmers and Planters Bank.

By Richard Morrell Staigg. Signed: *R. M. Staigg / 1844.*

4 x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The Eaton Collection. 30.21.3

MRS. MINIS (Anna Maria Cohen) (1863-1891)

By Rita V. V. Signed: *Rita V. V.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 2.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.98.

HANNAH MORE (1745-1833)

Author and philanthropist.

By Mary Lyttleton Wyatt. Signed: *Mary L. Wyatt/après Sir Henry Raeburn*, 6 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ R.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. xx.1.9

MRS. JACOB MYERS (Miriam Etting) (1787-1808)

By Benjamin Trott. 3 x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.97

GULIAN MCEVERS

Of New York.

Attributed to John Ramage. 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 1 $\frac{3}{8}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.14

AUGUSTUS MCKIM (1849-1868)

By John Carlin. Signed: *J. Carlin*. 1869. $4\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.12

AUGUSTUS MCKIM (1849-1868)

By John Carlin. $1 \times \frac{3}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.35

HASLETT MCKIM, SR. (1812-1891)

Of Baltimore and New York. Merchant and President of the Baltimore and Cuba Smelting and Mining Company.

By Hans Heinrich Bebie. Signed: *Bebie*. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ R.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.10

MRS. HASLETT MCKIM, SR. (Sally Birckhead) (1822-1888)

By Hans Heinrich Bebie. Signed: *Bebie*. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ R.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.11

MRS. HASLETT MCKIM, SR. (Sally Birckhead) (1822-1888)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.17

JOHNNY MCKIM (?)

By John Carlin. Signed: *J. Carlin*. . . $2 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.14

SUSAN MCKIM (?)

By John Carlin. Signed: *J. Carlin*. $2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.15

MRS. WILLIAM DUNCAN MCKIM (Susan Haslett) (1780-1876)

By George Lethbridge Saunders. Signed: *G. L. Saunders*. $4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$.

Gift of Mrs. William Duncan McKim. 41.10.13

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, JR. (1735-1786)

Lawyer, High Sheriff of Queen Anne's County, 1765 *et seq*

By Charles Willson Peale. $1\frac{5}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. xx.1.11

MRS. PERRY ECCLESTON NOEL (Sarah Nicholson)

By Anna C. Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale* 1825. $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.

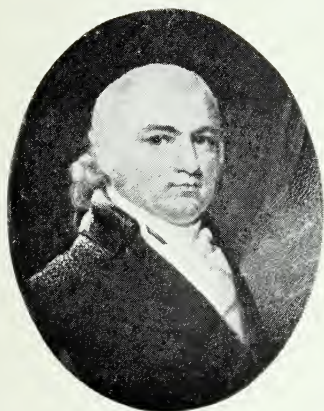
The Noel-Wyatt Collection. xx.1.12

CHARLES OLIVER (?) (1792-1858)

Of Baltimore and Paris.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 38.8.3



ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER
By Robert Field



MRS. WILLIAM DUNCAN MCKIM
By George L. Saunders



MRS. ROBERT HARDIE
By Mary Jane Simes 1832



MRS. THOMAS BYROM GRUNDY
By James Peale 1813

JOHN OLIVER (d. 1823)

Prominent Baltimore merchant. President Hibernian Society.

By Louise Chouvet. Signed: *Louise Chouvet*. $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{15}{16}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.26

ROBERT OLIVER (1759-1834)

Probably the most prominent and wealthiest Baltimore merchant of his day.

By Louise Chouvet. Signed: *Louise Chouvet*. $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.25

ROBERT OLIVER (1759-1834)

(See above)

By Charles Henard. Signed: *Chs Henard/1814*. On back: *Pinxit/Chas Henard/1814*. $2\frac{9}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.30

MRS. ROBERT OLIVER (Elizabeth Craig) (d. 1823)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{11}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{16}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.28

MRS. THOMAS OLIVER (Mary Caille Harrison) (1805-1873) and

MARGARET SPRIGG OLIVER (Mrs. Henry Fenwick Thompson) (1839-1902)

Unattributed European. $2\frac{3}{8}$ circular.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.23

JOHN PHILEMON PACA (1771-1840)

Of Wye Island, Queen Anne's County.

By Robert Field. Signed: *R. F./1802*. $3 \times 2\frac{3}{8}$.

Lent by the Peabody Institute. 24.24.1

JOHN GREENE PROUD (1776-1865)

By Joseph Wood. Signed: *1812/Aet 36/by Wood/in New York*. $2\frac{15}{16} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$.

The Redwood Collection. xx.4.193

CAPTAIN ADRIAN PROVEAUX (d. 1804)

Of San Domingo. He emigrated to South Carolina and served in the 2nd South Carolina Regiment during the Revolution.

Unattributed American. $1\frac{11}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$.

Bequest of Miss Anne R. Rolando. 28.11.1

GEORGE HEINRICH REPOLD (1756-1811)

Baltimore merchant of the firm of Repold & Waesche.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$.

Bequest of Miss Margaret E. Maund. 31.7.5

LT. GEORGE B. REDWOOD, U. S. A. (1888-1918)

Decorated for gallantry, World War I. D. S. C. with Oak Leaf Cluster.

By Alyn Williams. Signed: *Alyn Williams PRMS/1923*.
Water color on paper. $6\frac{15}{16} \times 4\frac{15}{16}$ R.

The Redwood Collection. xx.4.199

GOVERNOR ALBERT C. RITCHIE (1876-1936)

Governor of Maryland 1920-1932.

By Margaretta Cope. Signed: *M. P. Cope*. $3\frac{3}{16} \times 3$ R.

Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Michael Abrams. 40.12.1

M. DE ST. CRIC

By Nicholas Jacques. Signed: *Jacques*. 1816. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.50

REAR ADMIRAL WINFIELD SCOTT SCHLEY, U. S. N. (1839-1909)

Distinguished officer whose direction of the fleet at Santiago during the Spanish American War was a *cause célèbre* of the day.

By Frances Louise Thomson. Signed: *Louise Thomson / 1902*.
 $4\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Miss Frances Louise Thompson, in memory of Admiral Schley and his sister, Mrs. Parks Fisher. 27.10.1

THOMAS SMYTH, JR. (1757-1807)

Of Kent County.

Attributed to Joseph Pierre Picot de Clorivière de Limoëlan.
 $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$.

Lent by Miss Eugenia Nichols. 26.32.1

JOSEPH SOLOMON (?)

By Philip A. Peticolas. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

The Eleanor S. Cohen Collection. xx.3.93

MARGARET SPRIGG (1790-1864)

Attributed to James Peale. $2\frac{15}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.22

MARGARET SPRIGG (1790-1864)

Unattributed American. $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.27

OSBORN SPRIGG

Of Maryland and Virginia.

Attributed to David Boudon. $2 \times 1\frac{5}{8}$.

Lent by Mrs. Robert H. Henderson. 42.17.1

MRS. WILLIAM E. STONE (Helen Key)

Unattributed. $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$.

Gift of Mrs. William E. Stone. 37.3.6

HENRY THOMPSON (1774-1837)

Baltimore merchant.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.29

HENRY ANTHONY THOMPSON (1800-1880)

By Ye Chung. Sticker on frame: "YE CHUNG/PORTRAIT PAINTER &C/HAS ALL SORTS AND KINDS OF PICTURES FOR SALE/HONGKONG, NO. 529 QUEEN'S ROAD." $3\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.19

MRS. HENRY ANTHONY THOMPSON (Julie Zelina de Macklot)
(1808-1861)

By Ye Chung. $4 \times 3\frac{5}{8}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.20

MRS. HENRY ANTHONY THOMPSON (Julie Zelina de Macklot)
(1808-1861)

Unattributed. $1\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$.

Lent by Mrs. F. N. Bolton. 40.29.1

MRS. HENRY FENWICK THOMPSON (Margaret Sprigg Oliver)
(1790-1864)

Attributed to George Lethbridge Saunders. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.31

MRS. WILLIAM TIFFANY (Mary Marien)

By Nathaniel Rogers. Signed: *N. Rogers N Y.* $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{11}{16}$ R.

Gift of Miss Susan Brown. 40.19.1

BARON VON HARTMAN (?)

Unattributed American. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Gift of Mrs. Richard Boylston Hall. 14.6.1

BERNARD VON KAPFF (1770-1829)

Baltimore merchant.

By Robert Field. Signed: *R. F./1804.* $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Lent by Mrs. William D. Poultney. 28.18.1

MRS. BERNARD VON KAPFF (Henriette Didier) (1780-1814)

By Robert Field. $3\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$.

Lent by Mrs. William D. Poultney. 28.18.2

BENJAMIN WILLIAMS (1767-1812)

Baltimore merchant.

Unattributed American. $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$.

The Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. xx.5.51

GEORGE WILLIAMS (1778-1852)

Fought at Battle of North Point; prominent Baltimore merchant.

By George Freeman. Signed: *G. Freeman/1850*. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.13

MRS. GEORGE WILLIAMS (Elizabeth Bordley Hawkins) (d. 1850)

By George Freeman. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.14

MRS. GEORGE WILLIAMS (Elizabeth Bordley Hawkins) (d. 1850)

Unattributed American. $3\frac{15}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.8

GENERAL OTHO HOLLAND WILLIAMS (1749-1794)

Distinguished Revolutionary officer, wounded and taken prisoner at Fort Washington, 1776; exchanged in 1778 and brevetted Brigadier-General, Continental Line, 1782.

By Charles Willson Peale. $1\frac{1}{16} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$.

Bequest of Miss Susan Williams. 21.6.1

SUSANNAH WILLIAMS (1766-1851)

By Anna C. Peale. Signed: *Anna C. Peale 1825*. $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth Williams Burnap. 27.19.1

EDWARD HANCOCK CUSTIS WILSON (1792-1825)

Of Westover, Clifton, Somerset County, Md.

Unattributed American. $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{16}$.

Gift of Miss Mary Wilson Long. 40.21.1

JAMES WILSON (1775-1851)

Of William Wilson & Son, shipping merchants; director of the Bank of Baltimore and President of the Board of Trade.

Unattributed American. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$.

Lent by Mrs. William D. Poultney. 39.8.1

THE REVEREND WILLIAM EDWARD WYATT (1789-1864)

Associate rector and rector of St. Paul's P. E. Church, Baltimore, 1814-1864.

Unattributed American. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{13}{16}$ R.

The Noel-Wyatt Collection. xx.1.10

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

Unattributed American. $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$.

Lent by W. H. de Courcy Wright, Esq. 44.34.2

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$.

Gift of Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie Brevitt. 30.7.7

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

Unattributed American. $1\frac{3}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.

Gift of Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie Brevitt. 30.7.8

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

Unattributed American. $2\frac{11}{16} \times 1\frac{3}{16}$.

Gift of Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie Brevitt. 30.7.9

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

Unattributed American. $1\frac{15}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.

Bequest of Miss Sarah M. Bargar. 13.1.7

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

Unattributed English. Composition board. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 6$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.36

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

Same subject as above. 34.9.37

By Thomas Heathfield Carrick. Water color on marble. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{11}{16}$ R.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.33

UNKNOWN GENTLEMAN

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$.

Gift of Louis H. Dielman. 45.46.1

UNKNOWN LADY

By Thomas Heathfield Carrick. Water color on marble. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ R.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 34.9.34

UNKNOWN LADY

Attributed to Charles Willson Peale. $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$.

The Oliver-Thompson Collection. 38.8.2

UNKNOWN LADY

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$.

Lent by Murray L. Goldsborough, Esq. 40.28.2

UNKNOWN LADY

Unattributed American. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2$.

Gift of Louis H. Dielman. 45.46.2

UNKNOWN LADY

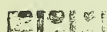
Unattributed European. $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$

The Eaton Collection. 30.21.—

THE GREENWAY LOT IN GREENMOUNT CEMETERY

By John Carlin. Signed: *J. Carlin N. Y.* $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ R.

Gift of Miss Elizabeth W. Greenway. 40.10.2



ARTISTS REPRESENTED

Barrois	Morin, Elie
Bauzil	Nicholson
Bebie, Hans Heinrich	Oldoni
Bell, John C.	Peale, Anna C.
Boudon, David	Peale, Charles Willson
C., A.	Peale, James
Carlin, John	Peale, Rembrandt
Carrick, Thomas Heathfield	Pecchioli, Anna
Chouvet, Louise	Peticolas, Philippe Antoine
Cope, Margaretta	Ramage, John
Couriguer, Joseph Anton	Rauschner, John Christian
de Clorivière, Joseph Pierre	Rogers, Nathaniel
Picot	Saunders, George Lethbridge
Dennis, Charles W.	Scotlo
Elouis, John Pierre Henri	Simes, Mary James
Faris, Hiram	Staigg, Richard Morrell
Field, Robert	Thomson, Frances Louise
Freeman, George	Trott, Benjamin
Henard, Charles	V., Rita V.
Inman, Henry	Victor, C.
Isabey, Jean Baptiste	Wetmore
Jacques, Nicholas	Williams, Alyn
Lecourt, J.	Wood, Joseph
Leth, A. C.	Wyatt, Mary Lyttleton
Mackubin, Florence	Ye Chung

CIVILIAN DEFENSE IN BALTIMORE, 1814-1815

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE AND SAFETY

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

(Concluded from Vol. XL, page 23, March, 1945)

During the final weeks of its activity, the Committee of Vigilance and Safety concerned itself with three problems: the retention of enough guns to protect the City, a campaign for the recruiting of men to work on the fortifications, and the construction of a floating steam battery. Other matters were comparatively minor in nature, and the sessions of the latter half of November were brief. The final regular meeting took place on December 3rd, and after that there was only one more gathering, on January 9th, at which there was the single roll call vote of the entire proceedings. The Treaty of Ghent, ending the war with Great Britain, was signed December 24th, but word of this event had not yet reached Baltimore.

In spite of indications that the war with Great Britain was drawing to a close and that the danger from enemy forces was slight, the leaders of Baltimore's defense preparations protested strongly when the removal of a number of guns to Philadelphia was ordered by Navy Department officials. A letter was sent to General Scott, pointing out that if the guns were removed, people might not volunteer to work on the entrenchments being constructed. To recruit laborers, a campaign was organized, with canvassers in each ward. It would be interesting to know what results were obtained, particularly as provision was made for money subscriptions in lieu of actual service; but there is no record in the minutes.

The proposal for the building of "a Fulton or Steam Frigate" is notable, not only for the use of Robert Fulton's name to designate the type of vessel planned, but also for the advocacy of a steam-driven warship years before such a thing was actually constructed. The inventor himself was consulted, and in the front of the minute book there is a blue print of diagrams of the projected "Demologus" (by which name it was to be known).¹⁷² The cost of such a steam battery was estimated at \$150,000, and the Committee was to raise the sum as a loan to the United States government. The banks of Baltimore agreed to subscribe \$86,000, and it was thought that the remainder could be procured from individuals if it was certain that the frigate would be built in Baltimore. Apparently, however, the additional \$64,000 was not forthcoming, and it was decided not to pursue the matter.

Baltimore 1st November 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee were informed that Capt. Barry's & Capt. Penningtons Companies of Artillerists offered their services to perform a days labour on the fortifications, whereupon it was—

Ordered That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Capt. Barry and Capt. Pennington and the Companies under their commands, that their services be accepted and that the Superintendants of the Labourers inform them when & where the same will be required—

The Committee were informed by Mr. James Beatty the Navy agent that the nineteen 32 pounders, the twenty six 24 pounders and the twenty seven 42 pound Caronades under his controul, and a part of which Guns this Committee were fitting up to be used on the fortifications round the City, were ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to be sent to Philadelphia whereupon the following letter to Maj. Genl. Scott was read and submitted to the consideration of the Committee—to wit—

"Maj. Genl. Scott—Washington—

Sir

The Navy Agent at this place has received an order from the Government for all the long 32 pounders, 24 pounders, and twenty seven 42 pound Caronades to be delivered to S. T. Anderson,¹⁷³ who has ordered them to be forwarded to Philadelphia via York & Lancaster—

¹⁷² In the Library of Congress is a letter from Fulton to Solomon Etting, a member of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety. Writing from New York, November 26, 1814, Fulton asked pertinent questions about the materials to be used, and remarked that some of his workmen would have to go to Baltimore to construct the machinery.

¹⁷³ Samuel T. Anderson (d. 1854).

You are appraised Sir of the importance of retaining those Guns if possible; indeed we have no hesitation in saying the 32 & 24 pounders are indispensable for the protection of this place—The 42 lb Caronades may be dispensed with, there being other Guns here sufficient of this description—Part of the 32 & 24 pounders are already mounted at Fort Wood, and you are aware Sir, that the residue will be required, for works progressing—We deem it important to acquaint you of this distressing circumstances in order that you may if you think necessary take steps for the Armament required for the fortresses under your Command—The Committees are of opinion that voluntary labour, will with difficulty be obtained hereafter, when it is known our Guns are taken away, and may cause our works to be suspended if the Guns cannot be retained—”

Which being considered was approved ordered to be copied, signed by the Chairman and forwarded forthwith by express—

Resolved, That Mr. Stewart and Mr. Jessup be and they are hereby appointed to cooperate with Dr. A. J. Schwartze in preparing Bombs and Shells for the defence of the City—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 2d Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee received two communications from Mr. Godefroy the Engineer the one dated and the other on the instant—whereupon it was

Ordered That the first be and hereby is referred to the Superintendants of the labourers in the English precincts and the latter to Mr Burke & Mr. Bond with a request that they would severally comply with the requisitions therein contained—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 3d. Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the Proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That the relations of those whose bodies have been buried in the grave yard of the German Lutheran Congregation near the Hospital,¹⁷⁴ where the ditch of the line of the breast works, intended for the defence of the City is traced out, be and they are hereby requested to remove such bodies immediately from the line in which the Ditch will pass—

Ordered, That the Reverend Mr. Kurtz ^{174a} be furnished with a copy of the foregoing Resolution—

Resolved, That Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Etting, & Mr. Hollingsworth be

¹⁷⁴ Cor. Market [Broadway] and Monument Sts.

^{174a} John Daniel Kurtz (1763-1836), pastor of the principal Lutheran church in Baltimore from 1786 to 1832.

and they are hereby appointed to consider of and to digest a plan for calling out the citizens to labour on the Fortifications and to report to this Committee—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 4th Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Mr. Buchanan from the Committee appointed to digest & report a plan for calling out the citizens to labour on the Fortifications reported the following address which was read, approved and ordered to be published—

“To the Inhabitants of the City and Precincts of Baltimore
Fellow Citizens,

Among the most arduous, as well as the most important, of the duties which have devolved upon this Committee, has been that of procuring and organising labour for the erection of works of defence, under the direction of the military authority—The committee in the discharge of this duty, have called freely on the public spirit of their fellow citizens, and they acknowledge with pleasure, that their calls have been liberally answered, thereby enabling those who have had the charge of our defence, to throw up such works as are believed to have answered a most valuable purpose in the recent attack upon our City—

Although much has been done in the desirable work of preparation for defense, much remains to be done; and as the reason for labour is rapidly passing away, the Committee are required, by every consideration of duty and of interest, to procure with the least possible delay, the greatest quantity of voluntary labour in aid of the very patriotic and extensive work which the committee gratefully acknowledge to have received, and to be daily receiving from the different military corps—To complete the duty of preparation, very extensive works have been designated by the competent authority, requiring all the labor which can be furnished by the city and precincts; when, however, it is believed, that the effect of this labour will be, as it is considered, to render our beloved homes impregnable to any force which can be brought against them, the committee feel confident, that to receive, they have only to ask what may be required; and under this impression, they call the attention of their country-men to the following arrangement—

That the members of this Committee, aided by George Grundy,¹⁷⁵ James Carroll,¹⁷⁶ Adam Welsh,¹⁷⁷ Isaac Phillips, Horatio B. Berry,¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ George Grundy (1756-1825), of “Bolton,” merchant, 188½ Baltimore St.

¹⁷⁶ James Carroll (1762-1832), of “Mount Clare.”

¹⁷⁷ Adam Welsh (d. 1841), dealer in leather and hides, cor. Paca and Lexington Sts.

¹⁷⁸ Horatio Berry (1776-1855), carpenter, S. Green nr. Baltimore St.

William Krebs, and Alexander Robinson of the Western Precincts; George Decker, Charles Bohn, William W. Taylor, and Joseph Karrick¹⁷⁹ of the first Ward; Richard H. Jones, Luke Tiernan and Robert Miller,¹⁸⁰ of the 2d Ward; Henry Schroeder, James Mosher and James Campbell¹⁸¹ of the 3d Ward; Jacob Myers, James Martin,¹⁸² Frederick Leypold and William Campbell¹⁸³ of the 4th Ward; James Hindman,¹⁸⁴ Charles Wirgman¹⁸⁵ and John Gooding¹⁸⁶ of the 5th Ward; John Hillen,¹⁸⁷ John Mackenheimer and John Diffenderffer¹⁸⁸ of the 6th Ward; Philip Moore,¹⁸⁹ Joseph Holbrook,¹⁹⁰ Ludwick Herring and Nathaniel Hynson of the 7th Ward; Peter Galt,¹⁹¹ John Snyder and Thomas Cole¹⁹² of the 8th Ward—and Henry Pennington, John McElderry,¹⁹³ Dr. C. Stevenson,¹⁹⁴ William Vance¹⁹⁵ and Philemon Dawson¹⁹⁶ of the Eastern Precincts, will, on Tuesday the 8th instant, in their respective wards and precincts, call personally on all the inhabitants thereof, and ascertain from each, how many days of labor they will personally engage to perform—

That public notice will be given by the Committee, designating the days on which the voluntary labour of the several wards will be required; that the superintendants of labourers shall be furnished with the names of those who are to labor, and shall be required to make a return in writing of those who shall have failed to comply with their engagements—

That each inhabitant shall be permitted to substitute a subscription in money, in lieu of personal labor; the Committee engaging, as they hereby do, that money thus received shall be applied exclusively to the hire of laborers—

That it is the opinion of the Committee if this application for labor be as productive as is expected that our citizens may expect to be protected, from the ravages of war: and that even in the event of another attack, we will again be enabled to say in the words of an eminent divine of our

¹⁷⁹ Joseph Karrick, merchant, S. Gay nr. Pratt St., dw. cor. Camden and Sharp Sts.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Miller (d. 1818), merchant, 186 Baltimore St., dw. Sharp nr. German [Redwood] St.

¹⁸¹ James Campbell (1770-1846), merchant, 161 Baltimore St.

¹⁸² James Martin (d. 1850), cabinet maker, Lovely Lane.

¹⁸³ William Campbell (d. 1819), merchant tailor, cor. South and Water Sts.

¹⁸⁴ James Hindman (d. 1830), S. Gay nr. Baltimore St.

¹⁸⁵ Charles Wirgman (1781-1821), merchant, 53 S. Gay St., dw. 41 S. Gay St.

¹⁸⁶ John Gooding (d. 1839).

¹⁸⁷ John Hillen (1761-1840), 54 Pitt St.

¹⁸⁸ John Diffenderffer (d. 1835), merchant, cor. Pratt St. and McElderry's Wharf, dw. 14 Great York St.

¹⁸⁹ Philip Moore (1771-1834), pres. of Franklin Bank, dw. Market St.

¹⁹⁰ Joseph Holbrook (d. 1851), sea captain, 59 Great York St.

¹⁹¹ Peter Galt (1777-1831), justice of the peace, 19 Fells St.

¹⁹² Thomas Cole, merchant, 46 Pitt St.

¹⁹³ John McElderry (1788-1830).

¹⁹⁴ Cosmo Gordon Stevenson (1785-1825), physician, Bridge St.

¹⁹⁵ William Vance, plane maker, 8 N. Charles St.

¹⁹⁶ Philemon Dawson (d. 1816), sea captain, Aisquith St.

City, that, "after a night of awful darkness, interrupted by the yet more awful fires of bombardment, while the thunder of hostile squadrons poured its long and terrific echo from hill to hill, around our altars and our homes, our wives and our children, the flag of the Republic, waves on our ramparts; scattering from every undulation, through an atmosphere of glory, the defiance of the free and the gratitude of the delivered"—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 5th Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Major General communicated to the Committee a Copy of a Report of the lines from Mr. Godefroy the Engineer which was read and

Ordered That the same be & is hereby referred to the Superintendants of the Laborers of the Eastern Precincts—

Resolved, That Mr. Buchanan & Mr. Lorman be and they are hereby requested to wait on Com: Perry and confer with him respecting the building a Fulton or Steam Frigate for the defence of the Chesapeake; and to prepare a Letter or memorial to the Executive of the United States upon the subject and report to this Committee—

The Committee received a communication from Messrs Willard & Turner respecting the operation of a instrument of war which they had invented—therefore

Ordered, That the same be referred to Mr. Burke and Capt. Stevens to investigate, consider of and report respecting it—

The Committee were informed that several of the Vessels which had been sunk in the Patapsco were removed from the situation in which they had been placed therefore—

Ordered, That Mr. Burke & Capt. Stevens be and they are hereby requested to communicate with Com: Barney and suggest to him the propriety of having the obstructions in the Channel of the River replaced—

The Committee then adjourned to Monday morning 11 O'Clock—

Baltimore 7th November 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment: the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee appointed to wait on Commodore Perry and confer with him respecting a Fulton or Steam Frigate for the defence of the Chesapeake and to prepare a letter or memorial to the Executive of the United States made

Report, That they have had an interview with Commodore Perry, and were assured by him that, he has the greatest confidence in the efficacy of the steam Battery recently launched at New York that, he does not entertain a doubt of its completely answering the object for which it has been built, and that, he considers our waters particularly well adapted to the use of such means of defence—In consequence of the opinions thus

expressed by Commodore Perry, the Committee recommend, that an immediate application on the subject be made by Letter, to the Secretary of the Navy; and that, to give additional weight to the application, it be presented by the Senator and Representatives of this district in Congress—conformably to this recommendation, the committee present herewith rough draughts of letters to the Secretary and to the Senator and Representatives—All of which is respectfully submitted—

Which Report was read and approved—

The following Letters accompanying the foregoing report were then read, approved and ordered to [be] Copied fair, signed by the Chairman and forwarded—

Honble William Jones, Secretary of the Navy.¹⁹⁷

Sir

In behalf of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety of Baltimore, I have the honor to address you on a subject which is deemed of the first importance to the defence of our City, and in which I am requested respectfully to solicit such aid as it may be in your power to afford—

We are assured, by some of the best informed naval and other characters of our country, that they have the greatest confidence in the steam batteries, such as the one which has been recently launched in New York, that they do not entertain a doubt of its completely answering the objects for which it has been built, and that the waters of the Chesapeake are particularly well adapted to the use of such means of defence—

The Committee are impressed with the belief, that one such battery would of itself be almost adequate to the protection of Baltimore, inasmuch as it would probably prevent the entrance of the Enemy's Ships into the Patapsco, or at least would render it impossible to approach within shell range of Fort McHenry—Believing this, and delegated as the Committee especially are to watch over & to promote the protection of the City, it becomes their duty to enquire, whether you can order the immediate commencement of one such Battery at this place for its defence—

If commenced without delay, the committee flatter themselves, that it would be completed in time to resist the first approaches of the Enemy in the Spring, and they authorize me to tender any aid which it may be in their power to afford for the accomplishment of so desirable an object—

I have the Honor to be with the highest consideration

Sir your Obt. St.

Samuel Smith,¹⁹⁸ Alexander McKim¹⁹⁹ and Nicholas R. Moore Esqr.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ William Jones (1760-1831), Secretary of the Navy, 1813-14.

¹⁹⁸ General Smith served as United States Senator from Maryland, 1802-15.

¹⁹⁹ Alexander McKim (1748-1832), member of the House of Representatives, 1809-15, dw. Lovely Lane cor. South St.

²⁰⁰ Nicholas Ruxton Moore (1755-1816), member of the House of Representatives, 1813-15.

Gentlemen

I have the honor to enclose you a Letter for the Secretary of the Navy, and to request, in behalf of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety of Baltimore, that you will have the goodness on presenting it to aid the views of the Committee, by using such arguments as may suggest themselves to you—Our citizens are generally impressed with a belief, that such an engine of defence is all important to our preservation in the Spring, and as they have delegated the Committee to watch over their interests, it is alike the duty and inclination of that body to procure a mean of defence as well adapted to our wants—The Committee do not know that they can pursue any mode better calculated to accomplish this end, than a direct application to the Secretary of the Navy, enforced by arguments to be derived from your knowledge of our local situation—

I have the Honor to Be Gentlemen your Obt. St.

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 8th November 1814

The committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed by a Communication from Col: Biays²⁰¹ that owing to the shortness of the notice and the indispensable engagements of a large portion of the Regiment under his command on the day assigned it to labour on the Fortifications it was likely that their services would not be so ample as could be wished—therefore—

Resolved, That the Secretary inform Col: Biays that the day assigned to his Regiment to work on the entrenchments shall be changed to any day when he will say it can be called out to the greatest advantage—

Resolved, That Mr. Ebenezar Findley²⁰² in the Western Precinct and Mr. Thomas Worrel²⁰³ and Mr. Burns of the seventh Ward be and they are hereby appointed in addition to those heretofore appointed to solicit contributions of money & labour for the purpose of completing the Fortifications

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 9th Novr. 1814

The committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That the Superintendants of the Eastern Precincts be and they are hereby authorised and requested to employ such number of Pioneers, not exceeding fifty, as Mr. Godefroy requires by his Report of the Lines dated on the 7th instant and communicated by the Major General to this Committee; the said Pioneers to be placed under the Command of Mr. Godefroy—and also that the superintendants of the

²⁰¹ Joseph Biays (1753-1820), merchant, 12 Fells St.

²⁰² Ebenezar Finley (d. 1839), merchant, dw. Fayette nr. Paca St.

²⁰³ Thomas Worrell, blacksmith, 4 E. Alisanna St.

Western Precincts be & they are hereby authorised & requested to employ fifty good labourers to be employed under the direction of the Engineer on the western side of the City—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 10th November 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read

Resolved, That the Secretary be and he is hereby requested to address a Note to Com: Barney requesting him to direct the men under his command to take care of the Timber which was sent by this committee to Fort McHenry for the use of the United States and which the Committee have been informed is afloat near the shore and likely to be lost—

Resolved, That the members of this committee make report on Monday next of all the contributions in money or labour they have obtained for the completion of the Fortifications—

Resolved, That Capt. George Stiles be and he is hereby requested to have the soundings of Harris' Creek ²⁰⁴ accurately taken and to report the same to this committee—and any expense incurred in so doing shall be defrayed out of the funds of this Committee—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 11 November 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee were informed that the St. Andrews Society tendered their services to perform a days work on the entrenchments—therefore

Ordered, That the thanks of this Committee be presented to the St. Andrews Society, that their services be accepted on Wednesday next, if fair, if not the next fair day, in the Eastern Precincts and that the Superintendants of labourers point out the particular part at which their service will be required—

Resolved, That the Chairman of this Committee wait upon Capt. Stiles, and explain to him the nature of the appointment and duties of the Superintendants of Laborers; and request a continuance of the aid of himself and his Corps—

The Committee received a Letter from the Secretary of the Navy dated on the 8th instant in answer to their Letter to him respecting a Steam Battery which was read and ordered to lie on the table—

The committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 12th November 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

²⁰⁴ Harris Creek flowed into the harbor where Lakewood Avenue now is, south of Patterson Park.

Resolved, That Mr. Stevens, Mr. Burke & Mr. Waters be and they are hereby requested to enquire whether any Guns can be procured to replace those which have been ordered away by the Government, and if so, whether any, and how, suitable shot for such Guns can be had, and to report to this Committee—

Resolved, That the Communications received by this Committee from, Messrs Smith, McKim & Moore, and the Secretary of the Navy dated on the 8th instant, be and the same are hereby referred to Mr. Hollingsworth, Mr. Etting & Mr. Lorman to digest and report such plan as they may deem most advisable for raising the sum of \$150,000 as required by the Secretary of the Navy to be lent to the United States for the purpose of building a Steam Battery—

Resolved, That Mr. Jessup be and he is hereby requested to arrange and call out the labourers who shall appear to have subscribed their aid, in such manner as he shall deem most advantageous—

The Committee then adjourned to Monday next 11 O'Clock A- M-

Baltimore 14 November 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—
The proceedings of Saturday were read—

The Committee received a communication from Major General Scott respecting the discharge of the Militia, now in actual service, within the 10th Militia District on the first of December next, which was read and ordered to lie on the table—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 15th November 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—
the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Ordered, That Mr. Jameson be and he is hereby excused from any further attendance as a superintendant of the Labourers in the Eastern Precincts—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 16 Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—
the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee received a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury dated on the 14th instant relative to the loan which this Committee had negotiated for the Government, which was read and ordered to be filed—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 17th Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—
the proceedings of yesterday were read

Capt. George Stiles who was requested by a Resolution of this Committee to have the soundings of Harris Creek correctly taken; accordingly did so and made

Report of a neat well drawn Chart of Harris Creek representing the bearings and soundings thereof which being viewed and inspected was approved & ordered to be delivered over to the Major General by the Secretary—And three dollars the expense incurred to be paid by the committee of accounts—

The Committee then adjourned.

Baltimore 18th Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed that, The Society of Journeyman Hatters of Baltimore, offered their services to perform a days work on the Fortifications; therefore,

Ordered, That the thanks of this Committee be presented to that society, that their services be accepted on Saturday next as proposed and that they be employed at the Fort erecting near the lower Ferry on the Patapsco—

The Sub-Committee appointed to confer with the several Banks of the City for raising an adequate sum to build a steam floating Battery on the terms proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, having addressed the Banks in writing for that object on the 14th instant, beg leave to report the answers received by the sub-Committee, as follows

Union Bank of Maryland will loan	\$25,000.00
City Bank of Baltimore	25,000.00
Commercial & Farmers Bank of Baltimore.....	13,000.00
Farmers and Merchants Bank of Baltimore....	10,000.00
Marine Bank of Baltimore	6,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$79,000.00
	<hr/>

Bank of Maryland require time for a full meeting of the board to decide on the sum they can subscribe—

The Committee have not received any reply from the following Banks, to wit, The Bank of Baltimore, Mechanics Bank, & Franklin Bank—

It is however the opinion of the sub-committee, that the sum required to complete the \$150000—the estimated cost of the Battery, can be obtained by additional individual subscriptions, provided the same be expended in the building of the Frigate at Baltimore—

Which Report was read and approved—

The following Letter from this Committee to the Secretary of the Navy was read approved and order'd to be copied signed by the Chairman & forwarded—

Honble William Jones, Secretary of the Navy,

Sir

I have now the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 8th instant, and to inform you that the sum required by your Letter will be furnished for the purpose therein expressed, and at the rate of the last Loan, 100\$ in stock for 80\$ in money, with the understanding that the boat be built at this place and with the least possible delay—

I have the honor to be &c &c

Whereas it having been repeatedly represented to this Committee that the Creditors of the United States who have made advances or disbursements at the instance of this Committee for the defence of the City of Baltimore are very importunate and pressing for payment, alledging their great necessities as an apology for their repeated calls, therefore

Resolved, That the Committee of Accounts be and they are hereby requested to wait on Maj. Genl. Scott and represent to him those circumstances, and to beg that he would have the goodness to advance to them such sums as would satisfy the most importunate of the creditors—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 19th Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—And nothing being proposed for adoption the Committee adjourned to Monday next 11 O'Clock A. M—

Baltimore 21st Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of Saturday were read—

The Committee were informed by a Letter from Mr. Rob. Fulton which was read to them that he required certain information respecting the Steam Frigate which they proposed to have built here, therefore

Resolved, That the Committee heretofore appointed to raise funds for the erection of a Steam Battery in this City be and they are hereby required to make the necessary inquiry and reply to the same—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 22 Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That Mr. Hollingsworth and Mr. Etting be and they are hereby requested to wait upon Maj. Genl. Watson, of the Pennsylvania Militia, and solicit him to furnish labourers from the men under his command to build the Fort traced out within the limits of their encampment—

The committee were informed by Mr. Stouffer that Fort Wood was completed and ready for service whereupon it was

Ordered, That the Chairman inform Genl. Scott of the same and respectfully request that he would appoint an officer to the command thereof—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 23d Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed by their chairman that a part of the money which had been loaned to the Government by means of this committee would be this day placed at the disposal of Maj. Genl. Scott, and be by him applied to the discharge of the accounts of this Committee—

The Committee were informed by Mr. Hollingsworth from the Subcommittee who was appointed to wait on Maj: Watson that Genls. Watson, Foster and Adams offered to detail from the troops under their command from 350 to 400 men pr day for six days to labour on the works of defence—therefore

Ordered, That the thanks of this committee be publicly presented to Generals Watson, Foster and Adams and the troops under their command; that their services be accepted and that the Superintendants of the labourers point out the time and place when and where their services will be required—

Resolved, That Mr. Stouffer and Mr. Jessup be and they are hereby authorised and requested to procure immediately twenty Waggon for the purpose of conveying the heavy Guns from Washington to Baltimore and that as soon as six are provided and ready, they inform Genl. Scott thereof, and proceed agreeably to his directions in sending off the Waggon for the purpose required—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 24th Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee received a communication from Maj: Gen. Scott inclosing a Letter from Capt. Babcock the Engineer which was read and referred to the Superintendants of the labourers for the Eastern Precincts—

The committee received a Letter from Daniel Conner praying to be discharged from their service in future and that he might be compensated for the past, therefore

Resolved, That the Committee of Accounts be and they are hereby authorised and requested to pay to Daniel Conner the sum of one hundred dollars & fifty as a compensation for his services and the said Conner is hereby discharged from any further attendance on this Committee—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 25th Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee received a communication from the Secretary of the Navy dated on the 22d instant in reply to a letter from this committee of the 18th instant which was read and referred to the sub-committee heretofore appointed to raise funds for the erection of a Steam Frigate at this place—

A Letter was received from Messrs Evans & McNeal & others proprietors of the Scows which have been hitherto used as a bridge of boats across the Basin, praying for compensation for the same which was read and referred to the Committee of Accounts—

The Committee received a communication from Maj. Genl. Scott inclosing one from Mr. Godefroy the Engineer which was read and referred to the Superintendants of the labourers of the Eastern Precincts—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 26th Novr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed by the chairman of the Committee of Accounts that they had had an interview with Genl. Scott, in which he had promised them that he should soon be enabled to furnish them with the additional sum of ten thousand dollars to be applied to the payment of their accounts—

The committee received a communication from Maj: Genl. Scott and also one from Capt. S. Sterrett relative to a Fort which it was proposed to erect on the Lands of the latter, which were severally read and referred to the Superintendants of the Labourers in the Eastern Precincts—

Resolved, That the chairman of this Committee be and he is hereby requested respectfully to enquire of the commanding officer of the Flotilla whether it is in his power to afford protection to our Bay trade against the depredations of small vessels of the Enemy which are now occasionally in the practice of proceeding above Annapolis and even opposite to the mouth of our River and thereby intercepting those supplies which are essential to the wants & safety of our City—

The following Letter was moved, read and approved and ordered to be copied fair signed by the chairman and forwarded—

“ The Honble The Secretary of the Navy—

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 22d instant and which has been submitted to the committee of vigilance and safety—Exhausted as our Banks have been by recent loans, we have found it necessary to resort to private individuals to complete the sum required for the Steam Frigate, and as the current price of 6 pr. ct.

Stock is now 80 dollars money for 100 dollars stock the committee are apprehensive that the money can only be raised upon those terms; and I am directed to express the hope that the Secretary of the Treasury will upon this representation recede from his recent determination—

Our anxiety however, to have the benefit of such a mean of defence will induce us to use our best endeavours to obtain the money on the terms mentioned in your letter and if we succeed, the Government shall have the benefit thereof, but we respectfully urge that the commencement of the Boat may not on this account be delayed”—

The Committee then adjourned to 11 O'Clock A. M. on Monday next—

Baltimore 28th Novr. 1814

The committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of Saturday were read—

The committee received a communication from the Major General which was read and referred to the Superintendants of the labourers in the Eastern Precincts to execute the requisition therein contained immediately

The committee received a Letter from Com: Barney in reply to their Resolution of the 26th instant which was read and ordered to be filed—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 29 Novr. 1814

The committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—and not anything being proposed for adoption the committee adjourned—

Baltimore 30th Novr. 1814

The committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—and not anything being proposed for adoption the committee adjourned—

Baltimore 1st Decr. 1814

The committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee received a Letter from Lieutenant Rutter ²⁰⁵ respecting the Vessels that were sunk in the River near Fort McHenry which was read and ordered to be filed—

The following Letter was then read approved and ordered to [be] copied and forwarded—

²⁰⁵ Josias Rutter (1775-1860).

" Com: Joshua Barney

Sir

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety have this morning received the report of Lieutenant Rutter relative to the situation of Vessels which were sunk on the approach of the Enemy, and they are consequently induced to believe that it would be desirable to raise some of those Ships and restore them to their owners—

There is a law of the United States which authorises the sinking of Hulks and therefore it will be an important saving to the Government if the valuable Vessels can be immediately raised and returned to their proprietors—and I am directed by the Committee to inquire whether this can be done by the men of the Flotilla under your Command—I will thank you for an early reply and have the Honor to be Sir your &c N. B. The committee received a Communication from the Secretary of the Navy dated on the 28th ulto. which was read and referred to the committee appointed to raise funds to defray the expense of building a Steam Battery to consider & report thereon—

(This letter was received & referred on the 29th ulto. but owing [to] the Secretary of this committee's not being apprised of it in time, it has not been noticed in its proper place) —

The committee then adjourned

Baltimore 2 Decr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That Col: Howard & Mr. Patterson be and they are hereby requested to wait on the Maj: General and intercede with him on behalf of Thomas McGrath who has been, as the Committee are informed, condemned to be shot, and endeavour to have him pardoned—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 3 Decr. 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Sub-Committee appointed on the business of the Steam-floating Battery,

Report, That only \$86,000 have been subscribed by the Banks, say at the rate of \$100 Stock of the United States for \$80 money—These appear to be the most favorable terms on which the Banks seem willing to subscribe—Some of the Banks offering to loan will not do it on the terms, or trust to what the 3,000,000 loan may be sold at—If therefore all the Banks were willing to loan on the terms proposed by the Secretary of War, there would still be \$64,000 required to make up the sum—The Sub-Committee are therefore of opinion, that, the estimated sum required

to build the Steam Battery cannot at present be raised by Loan on the terms set forth in the Secretarys Letter of the 28th November—

The Major General having authorised the raising the Ships sunk for the defence of the Harbour therefore—

Resolved, By the Committee of Vigilance & Safety that, Mr. Woelper be and he is hereby authorised to call on the commanding officer of the Flotilla and request him to raise and return accordingly, to their owners such of the said Ships as may be deemed proper to remove—

Resolved That this Committee will hereafter meet only on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 11 O'Clock A. M— and when adjourned it shall be adjourned to those days accordingly—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 9th January 1815

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment Resolved That the Chairman of this Committee communicate with the Secretary of the Treasury and ascertain from him the balance of the sum loaned by this Committee to the United States for the Defence of this city that remains unexpended and report to this Committee

Resolved That Col. Howard, Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lorman wait on Genl. Scott and endeavour to arrange with him some plan for raising 8,000 or such number of men for the defence of the City as they may deem most advisable

On striking out the recommendation as from the Committee &c

Aff.	Neg.
Lorman	Wilson
Frisby	Stewart
Armstrong	Kelso
Fonerden	Patterson
Taylor	Jamison
Alricks	Bond
Dugan	Berry
Sheffer	Burke
Jessup	Bland
Hollingsworth	—10 ²⁰⁶
Buchanan	
Stouffer	
Steven	
Etting	

—14

²⁰⁶ There are 9 names recorded in the negative but the tally shown is 10. At this point entries in the minute book cease. News of the Battle of New Orleans arrived on February 5 and of the peace on February 13.

BALL OF BAYSIDE, TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND

By FRANCIS B. CULVER

Mr. Emerson B. Roberts, of Pittsburgh, contributed to the December, 1944, number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (vol. XXXIX, pp. 335-344) an interesting sketch of his Talbot County ancestors who were residents of the locality known as Bayside, an early Quaker settlement in that Eastern Shore county. Mr. Roberts, incidentally, alludes to a collateral line, represented through the marriage in 1706 of John Kemp (I) to Mary Ball, daughter of Lieutenant Thomas Ball of Bayside. It is of the latter family the following pages will treat.

The Ball family of Bayside is evidently of armigerous origin. On the back of a scrap of paper, time worn and yellow with age, containing data copied from the family Bible of Captain Athanasius Martin (*q. v. infra*), brother of the Hon. Luther Martin, and preserved in my mother's family, there is a reference to the armorial bearings of the Balls of "Long Point," in Bayside, which are described as "three fire balls." The description, of course, is not strictly heraldic, for at that early period books of heraldry were generally inaccessible; but it is enough to identify this family with the Balls of Mamhead in Devonshire, whose arms are as follows: *Argent, a chevron between three fire balls fusées gules.*¹ Burke mentions a branch of this family bearing similar arms, but with the tinctures reversed.

The connection, if any, between the Ball family of Bayside and the Ball family of Virginia is, apparently, remote. It may be added, however, that representatives of the Virginia family purchased or acquired parcels of land in Maryland at a very early date; namely, Major William Ball and Richard Ball. These tracts were situated on the western side of Chesapeake Bay.

¹ Polwhele's *History of Devonshire* (1797), II, 155.

JOHN BALL (I), a scion of the Anglo-Irish branch of the Balls of County Devon, England, came with his family to Talbot County, Maryland, from the vicinity of Dungannon, Tyrone, northern Ireland, in April, 1686. On 2 June 1686, he purchased from Colonel Vincent Lowe a tract of land containing 300 acres, located in Talbot county, on the west side of Tuckahoe, which was surveyed for the said John Ball by Thomas Smithson, Deputy Surveyor of the county, 15 June 1686. Ball died, intestate, before the patent was issued and title to the land passed to his heir-at-law, Thomas Ball of Talbot County.

The name of this survey was variously written, in the land records, "Coallen" or "Cowallyn"; a name for which I have failed to find any explanation in the onomasticons. Inasmuch as our early settlers, not infrequently, named their estates by way of reference to their Old World provenance, I am tempted to believe that it may have been a corrupted phonetic spelling, on the part of a Surveyor's deputy, of a place name. There was and is a place about four miles northeast of Dungannon, in County Tyrone, known as "Coal Island," the commercial history of which can certainly be traced from the time of the formation of the Tyrone Canal in 1744; but "mining" operations were conducted in that district quite early. The charcoal of the Greeks is translated "coal" in King James' Version of the New Testament in 1611, a word derived from the Anglo-Saxon *col* (*i. e.*, "charcoal") which, as a placename, refers to the production of charcoal on or near the site.

John Ball (I) died sometime between 1686 and 1693, survived by his wife Mary and three children. The widow Ball married (2) in 1694 Ralph Elston, Sr., of Talbot County, a Quaker, who came to Maryland in 1662 bringing his first wife Eleanor and a son Ralph Elston, Jr. John Ball and Mary his wife had issue as follows:

1. *Thomas Ball* (I), the heir-at-law, of whom presently.
2. *Benjamin Ball*, the younger son, acquired considerable real estate in Talbot County and elsewhere. In 1698, Ralph Elston, Sr., gives "my son-in-law (*i. e.*, stepson) Benjamin Ball" power of attorney in a conveyance of several tracts of land in Bayside. On 10 May 1703, Thomas Ball, "for a natural affection I bear unto my brother

Benjamin Ball " and for other good causes and considerations, conveyed all his right, title, interest, etc., in and to the tract called "Coallen" to the said Benjamin Ball who, on 10 Nov. 1703, patented the tract,² which he sold in 1717 to William Dudley.

Benjamin Ball owned also several tracts of land on the north side of "the Second Creek" (now Broad Creek), on the north side of Choptank River in Talbot County, including "Benjamin's Lot" (100 acres), "Long Point" (50 acres), "Long Neck" (200 acres). These several tracts, excepting twenty acres of "Long Neck," he sold in 1721 to his brother Thomas Ball and departed for Kent Island, in "Queen Anne's County," where in 1722 he purchased a tract of 770 acres called "Clover Field" (patented 10 July 1725).

He married in 1714 Elizabeth (b. 1692), daughter of William and Margaret (Smith) Richardson, of a well known Maryland Quaker family. Benjamin Ball died in 1728, without issue. In his will, he made bequests to his four nephews: John Ball (son of Thomas); John Leeds and Daniel and Benjamin Richardson, sons of his sister Ruth Ball by her two marriages. Benjamin Ball's widow married (2) Augustine Thompson.

3. *Ruth Ball*, sister of Thomas and Benjamin Ball, "came to Talbot with her family at about ten years of age, born of English parentage at Dungannon, County Tyrone, 25th day of 12th month 1677."³ Ruth Ball married (1) in 1704 Edward Leeds (d. 1708), son of Captain William Leeds (d. 1688) who was a Burgess for Kent County, Md., in 1661, 1669. Edward Leeds (d. 1708), in his will, made his wife Ruth Leeds joint executrix with her brothers Thomas and Benjamin Ball. By her first husband, Ruth Ball had a son John Leeds (1705-1740), a noted mathematician, who married in 1726 Rachel, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Dickinson) Harrison. They were the parents of Lucretia Leeds (1728-1789), who married (in 1754) John Bozman (d. 1767).

² Md. Patents, Annapolis, Liber C. D., f. 109, 110.

³ Dr. Samuel Harrison MSS., at Md. Historical Society.

Ruth Ball married (2) in 1712 Daniel Richardson (1670-1722), son of William and Elizabeth (Ewen) Richardson of Anne Arundel County, Md. In connection with this marriage, the Third Haven Meeting reports that Mary Elston, mother of Ruth, gave her consent to the union. By this marriage Ruth had two sons: Benjamin Richardson who married (in 1746) Mary Ringgold and Daniel Richardson who died early. Mrs. Ruth (Ball) Leeds-Richardson, widow, died in 1728 and, in her will, dated 26 Oct. 1727, she appointed her brother Benjamin Ball to aid the executor.

THOMAS BALL (I), son of John Ball (I), came with his parents to Talbot County, Maryland, and settled in "Bayside." On 7 Feb. 1694, Thomas Ball, Samuel Martin, Daniel Sherwood, Francis Harrison, Nicholas Goldsborough, Robert Grundy and other prominent gentlemen of Talbot County were constituted a Committee "to purchase land for the erecting of the Town of Oxford."⁴ In 1694, Thomas Ball was a Lieutenant in the Provincial Militia of his county and one of the Maryland signers of an "address of felicitation" to King William of England, upon the arrival here of news of the failure of a "horrible intended conspiracy against his Royal person."⁵

In 1694, Thomas Ball purchased from John and Wealthy Ann Miller, for 7800 pounds of tobacco, a tract of land in Talbot County called "Miller's Purchase" (100 acres), lying on the north side of Great Choptank River and on the east side of Bolingbrooke Creek; which tract was sold in 1700 to William Carr by the said Thomas Ball. The land records of the County mention several real estate transactions between Thomas Ball and his brother, Benjamin Ball.

In 1702, the name of Thomas Ball appears for the first time in the Minutes of the Third Haven Meeting of Friends in Talbot County, as a witness to the marriage of one Thomas Tyler. From that time on, for a period of twenty years, his name appears prominently in the Friends' records until, on the 26th day of the 2d month 1723, it is recorded that Daniel Richardson and Thomas Ball "have been removed by death."

⁴ Tilghman's *History of Talbot County*, II, 345.

⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, XX, 538.

Thomas Ball (I) died in 1722 and his will, proved August 9th of that year, mentions his son John Ball, who was to live upon and enjoy the upper part of the tract called " Benjamin's Lot," and the upper part of the land called " Long Neck," on the lower side of Perch Cove Point and running across the Neck toward Choptank River to an oak standing near the river-side. A grandson Thomas Kemp, son of John and Mary (Ball Kemp, was devised all the remaining portions of the two aforementioned tracts and also a tract called " Long Point," on the north side of the Second Creek (now Broad Creek) on the north side of Choptank River. He mentions another grandson, Thomas Ball, " son of my son John Ball "; and a daughter Mary, wife of John Kemp. He mentions his wife Susanna Ball and also a servant, Elizabeth Waterworth.

The children of Thomas (I) and Susanna Ball were as follows:

1. *Mary Ball*, who married on 1 Jan. 1705/6 John Kemp (1681-1751), son of Robert and Elizabeth (Webb) Kemp. Among the several witnesses to the marriage were Edward and John Leeds, Thomas and Susannah Ball, John and Benjamin Ball, Elizabeth and Mary Elston. The writer of the article on the Kemp family, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (XXXIX, 336), gave the date of this marriage as 15 Nov. 1705. This was, in fact, the date of a " declaration of intention " to marry. According to the Third Haven Meeting records, the actual marriage date is there given as the 1st day of the 11th month (*i. e.*, January) 1705/6.⁶
2. *John Ball* (II), of whom presently.

JOHN BALL (II), son of Thomas (I), inherited by the will of his father. He lived in Bayside and was taxed on several parcels of land: " Long Point " (part), 25 acres; " Long Neck " (part), 90 acres; and " Benjamin's Lot " (part), 50 acres (Talbot County Debt Books, " to Michaelmas, 1761 "). He married twice: first, in 1716, Mary (surname unknown), at which time he was reported to the Third Haven Meeting, on the 30th day of the 6th month (*i. e.*, August) 1716, for having been married, contrary to

⁶ For continuation of this line, see *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIX, 337-340.

Quaker discipline, by a "priest." His name is not mentioned in this report, but it is evident that the allusion to "one of our number" refers to John Ball, for a later report on 31st day of the 8th month (*i. e.*, October) 1716, states that John Ball, "the person spoken of in the last two monthly Meetings for taking a wife by a priest," seems sorry and he was reported "sick" also, which must have been a mitigating circumstance. Daniel Richardson, the second husband of Mrs. Ruth (Ball) Leeds-Richardson (aunt of John Ball (II)), was appointed to "visit him."

John Ball (II) married a second time, in June 1747, Mary (——) Rainey; the marriage license, dated 1 June 1747, being directed to the Rev. Henry Nicols, Rector of Christ Church, St. Michael's, Md. It would appear as though Quaker ladies possessed little enchantment for John Ball (II), or *vice versa*? Mary Rainey was probably a widow and is, possibly, to be identified as the Mary Fairbanks who was married to Peter Rainey in June, 1742.⁷

John Ball (II) died in 1761 and his will, dated 30 Nov. 1760, refers to two sets of children: the older children, by the first wife, being designated "my children"; and the younger set, by the second wife, being styled "her children." Mary Ball, acting executrix and widow of John Ball, planter (deceased), with Joseph Dawson and James Fairbanks her sureties, refers, in her account of settlement, to money due from Thomas Ball, son of the deceased, it being "a part of the estate of his grandfather Thomas Ball." The accountant, widow of John Ball (II), mentions as residuary legatees in 1768: Jonathan Ball, aged 18 years; Samuel Ball, aged 16 years; Mary Ball, aged 15 years; Ruth Ball, aged 13 years; and William Ball, "of age."⁸

The children of John Ball (II), by his first wife Mary, were as follows:

1. *Thomas Ball*, mentioned in the will of his grandfather Thomas Ball (I). In 1768, he patented "Ball's Resurvey," consisting of 260 acres, embracing "Piney Point" (41 acres) and parts of "Benjamin's Lot" (39 acres) and "Long Neck" (180 acres). In 1798, it is recorded that he owned and occupied part of "Ben-

⁷ Talbot County Marriage Licenses.

⁸ Annapolis, "Accounts," Liber 60, f. 66, 17 Oct. 1768.

jamin's Lot," in Bay Hundred District of Talbot County. He married on 6 April 1741 Mabel Dawson, the Rev. Henry Nicols, of Christ Church, officiating.

2. *Benjamin Ball*.
3. *John Ball*, in 1798 owned and occupied part of "Benjamin's Lot," in Bay Hundred.
4. *Susannah Ball*, married ——— Haddaway.
5. *James Ball* (I), of whom presently.
6. *William Ball*, "of age" in 1768 and head of a family of four persons in 1790.

The children of John Ball (II), by his second wife Mary (Fairbanks?), were as follows:

7. *Jonathan Ball*, born 1750.
8. *Samuel Ball*, born 1752.
9. *Mary Ball*, born 1753.
10. *Ruth Ball*, born 1755.

JAMES BALL (I), son of John Ball (II) by Mary his first wife, was born on 23 Feb. 1731 in Bayside, Talbot County, Maryland. In 1762, he purchased from Richard Mansfield forty-three acres of land, being the remaining part of a fifty acres tract originally surveyed in 1667 and variously styled "Upper Holland," or "Up. Holland," on the north side of Choptank River, on the western side of Broad Creek. (There was an "Upholland," in the parish of Wigan, Lancashire, England.)

James Ball built staunch ships, before and during the American Revolution and subsequently, with the labor of slaves and the services of apprentices. In the Baltimore *Maryland Journal* of 21 March, 1780, John Ball advertises at his yard in Broad Creek, Great Choptank River in Talbot County, "on the stocks and ready to launch, a vessel about 40 hogsheads burthen." He was building ships as early as the year 1762.

In the records of the Third Haven Meeting, 30th day of the 12th month, 1762, it is stated that a request was presented to James Ball for the release of an apprentice named Harwood. We are informed, a little later, that "James Ball refuses to deliver up the indentures of Samuel Harwood 3d, but Friends think he [Harwood] should be removed owing to ill health," and Isaac

Dixon and James Kemp were appointed "to apply to his master, James Ball, for Harwood's release."

A well preserved letter, written in September, 1787, to James Ball by his son-in-law William Sheild of Kent County, concerns a controversy between Ball and a Captain John DeCorse over a vessel which the latter refused to accept upon its completion. This Captain DeCorse commanded a packet-boat which plied between Chestertown in Kent County and Baltimore, Md.

In a deed dated 16 January 1791, James Ball of Talbot County, shipwright, conveyed to Thomas Kemp of said county, boatwright, three lots of land distinguished in the plat of St. Michael's as numbers 44, 45 and 46. Elizabeth Ball joined with her husband in the deed.⁹

The name of James Ball, the Quaker, appears on the list of those who, "on or before 1 March 1778," *affirmed* the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity in Talbot County and submitted their names as being loyal to the State of Maryland. James Ball died on the 9 January 1808. He married in August, 1756, his cousin, Elizabeth Kemp (1732-1814), daughter of John and Mary (Ball) Kemp, and had issue as follows:

1. *John Ball*, born 16 Oct. 1757; died 21 Dec. 1787.
2. *Susannah Ball*, born 15 Dec. 1759; died 22 Feb. 1842, and was buried in the old Friends' Burying-ground, formerly at the s. e. corner of Aisquith and Fayette Streets, Baltimore. She married on 6 Feb. 1788, Captain Athanasius Martin, a brother of the Hon. Luther Martin, and had issue as follows:
 - a. Capt. Thomas H. Martin (1788-1821) married in 1820 Louise Caroline Wood.
 - b. Mary Martin, born 3 April 1792; died 10 March 1871.
 - c. John Martin, born 3 Sept. 1795; died 4 July 1796.
 - d. Thomas Martin, born 16 Aug. 1798; died 20 Oct. 1848.
3. *James Ball*, born 19 Oct. 1763. He inherited from his father, James Ball, Sr., the property called "Up. Hol-

⁹ Talbot County Deed Book, XXIV, 229.

land" which he sold in 1812 to Samuel Harrison of Talbot County.¹⁰

4. *Rachel Ball*, born 22 July 1766; died 21 July 1857, and was buried in the old Friends' Burying-ground on the "Harford Road," Baltimore. She was married 8 April 1786, by the Rev. John Gordon, Rector of Christ Church, St. Michael's, Maryland, to William Sheild (1760-1816) of Kent County, who sold his inherited estate "Pentridge," near Lankford Bay, Kent County and removed in 1789 to "Long Point" in Talbot County. Before removing from Talbot County, William Shield disposed of his realty by placing it on the market in 1799. The following advertisement is taken from the *Maryland Herald and Eastern Shore Intelligencer*, published at Easton, and otherwise called the "Easton Herald," dated February 19, 1799:

A valuable Farm in Talbot County, commonly known by name of LONG POINT, beautifully situated & lying between Broad & Harrison's Creeks; has a full prospect of Choptank River & as far down the Bay as can be seen with the naked eye: well adapted to grow wheat, corn or tobacco: remarkable for fishing, fowling & oystering, & what still renders it more agreeable is the healthy situation of the place. . . . Apply to subscriber on the premises.

WILLIAM SHEILD.

He served under Captain Edward Veazey at the Battle of Long Island in August, 1776 and, later, in the Kent County militia. He died in Baltimore on 2 Sept. 1816. William and Rachel Sheild had issue:

- a. John Ball Sheild, born 1787. With "Lake Champlain Flotilla" in 1812-1814.
- b. Elizabeth Sheild, b. 1789; d. 1865; m. 1814 John Appleby (1789-1834), in War of 1812.
- c. Mary Sheild,¹¹ b. 1791; d. 1831; m. 1810 William Coppuck (1783-1857), in War of 1812.

¹⁰ Deed Book, No. 1, f. 5.

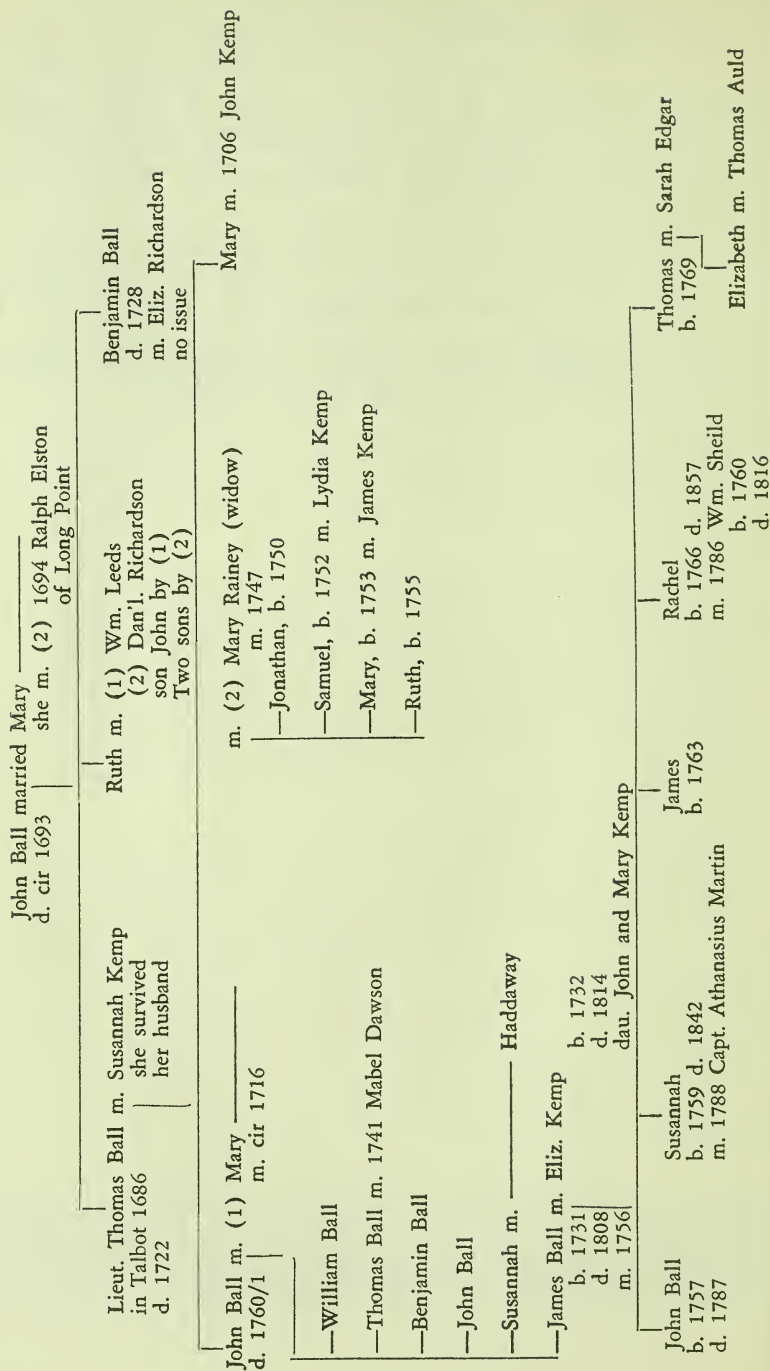
¹¹ William and Mary (Sheild) Coppuck were the parents of Mrs. Amelia Ball Welby, the noted poet of Maryland and Kentucky (see *The Sun*, Baltimore, Sunday, Oct. 22, 1922, Part 10, Page 3). Likewise, descended from John Ball (I) and

- d. Ann Sheild, b. 1794; d. 1843; m. post 1826 Rev. Lenox Martin (1764-1846), of Old Town, Md.
 - e. Susan M. Sheild, b. 1796; d. 1880, unmarried; buried in Friends' cemetery, Harford Ave.
 - f. William Ball Sheild, b. 1798; d. 1834 in Baltimore, Md.
 - g. Martha Sheild, b. 1803; d. 1830, unmarried.
 - h. Sarah Ball Sheild, b. 1806; d. 1863, unmarried; buried in Friends' cemetery, Harford Ave.
5. *Thomas Ball*, born 9 March 1769; married Sarah Edgar and had Elizabeth Ball (m. Thomas Auld).

Mary his wife are representatives of several prominent Maryland families, including the Tilghmans, Shreves, Barrolls, Bozmans, Kerrs, Kemps and others. This Maryland family was unfortunate in having so few males to carry on the surname. The name survived, however, in "Ball's Creek"; but "Elston's Point" has become "Nelson's Point" on the modern maps of Talbot County.

BALL FAMILY

By EMERSON B. ROBERTS AND FRANCIS B. CULVER



BOOK REVIEWS

A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music (18th Century). By OSCAR GEORGE THEODORE SONNECK. . . . Revised and enlarged by WILLIAM TREAT UPTON. Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1945. 616 pp. \$1.75.

To those of us who are interested in the ancestry of the popular songs of the day, the revised "Bibliography of Early Secular American Music" just published by the Music Division of the Library of Congress will afford much illumination. Originally prepared by O. G. T. Sonneck in 1905, the bibliography has been enlarged and brought up to date by the untiring efforts of Dr. Wm. Treat Upton, who has succeeded in adding hundreds of hitherto undiscovered items to Mr. Sonneck's already voluminous list. Through the research of Dr. Upton we now have not only a comprehensive report of the songs in vogue in this country before 1800, but we have a record of the composers of these songs and of the publishing houses which brought them before the public.

Most of the music heard in America before 1800 was of English origin and most of the songs were written by English poets, but there are a number of examples of American-made lyrics set to English music. One of the most notable of these instances is the wide acceptance of the tune "To Anacreon In Heaven," composed in England in the early 1780's, brought to this country, and used with words of a dozen different patriotic and semi-patriotic songs before Francis Scott Key immortalized it through the "Star Spangled Banner." The most famous of the pre-1800 patriotic songs written to the tune of Anacreon is "Adams & Liberty," which is fully described in Mr. Upton's bibliography.

Another point of particular interest to Marylanders will be the list of Baltimore publishers in the back of the volume. Most important of these was the Carr family, who commenced the publishing of sheet music in the 1790's in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. It was Thomas Carr who published in Baltimore the first musical edition of the "Star Spangled Banner" in 1814.

For earnest students of old music and of early Americana the bibliography will prove a source-book of rare value.

LESTER S. LEVY

Principio to Wheeling, 1715-1945: A Pageant of Iron and Steel. By EARL CHAPIN MAY. New York: Harper, [1945]. 335 pp. \$3.00.

The subtitle of this book, by an author who has a wide and successful experience in various fields of story telling, gives some clue to the nature of this interesting volume which links the early history of iron manufacture in colonial America, through a continuous chain of ownership, with the steel industry of today. Marylanders should have a particular interest in this volume as the Principio Company located in Cecil County, between Perryville and Northeast, was not only the first iron works in Maryland (1715), but it so surpassed its contemporary competitors that at one time one-half of the American pig iron exported to Great Britain came from the properties of this company. For years, much of the iron ore it used was dug from lands in Baltimore.

Early in the life of the company, Captain Augustine Washington, the father of General Washington, became an owner of a substantial interest in the company as a result of which the Washington family were more or less actively connected with its operations for several generations.

While long and diligent research was required to assemble the wealth of data presented, the author has been successful in creating a vivid series of human stories which will thoroughly hold the attention of the average reader. Much of the book is naturally devoted to steel operations in Wheeling, West Virginia, which were tied to Maryland's Principio in 1859 through the Whitaker family. This tie still continues, as Albert C. Whitaker, president of the Whitaker Iron Company, which company for many years has owned Principio, is also intimately identified with the Wheeling Steel Corporation.

The book contains a useful bibliography, an index, and is attractively illustrated.

H. FINDLAY FRENCH

John Work Garrett and His Library at Evergreen House. Baltimore: Privately Printed, 1944. 74 pp.

This chronicle is more than a labor of love; it is a generous contribution to the bibliographical history of Baltimore, making public the story of an unusually fine private library and its founders.

The format of the book is in keeping with the fastidious taste of the late John W. Garrett, and considering the problems of war-time publishing, is a handsome memorial volume produced under trying circumstances. The thirteen half-tone illustrations are exceptionally good.

The book is divided into three parts. The first is a short biographical sketch of John Work Garrett (1872-1942) tracing the important phases of his career from his birth in Baltimore to the making of his will, in which he deeded Evergreen House to the Johns Hopkins University, "as a memorial to my family." Part two, "The Spirit of Evergreen Library" contains the interesting reminiscences of Mr. Garrett's fellow bibliophile

and friend, B. Howell Griswold, Jr., who chats of interesting books and pleasant evenings in the library at Evergreen. The third part, "A Library of Four Generations" is a paper by John W. Garrett, himself, read before the P. L. Club in 1929, telling in an informal way about some of the treasures in his collection and how he acquired them. It will be obvious to anyone reading this account of the library that Mr. Garrett knew well the history of the printed book and in particular the periods which interested him as a collector. His collection ranges from the earliest years of printing in Europe to modern fine printing and first editions. The story is well worth reading.

LLOYD A. BROWN

Peabody Institute Library

Calendar of Kent County Delaware Probate Records, 1680-1800. Compiled by LEON DEVALINGER, JR. Dover: Public Archives Commission, State of Delaware, 1944. \$6.00.

This remarkable publication contains 558 solid pages of data plus an index of 133 pages. Nor is its usefulness confined to Delaware: a cursory examination gives substantial evidence of the relationships of Delaware and Maryland Eastern Shore families.

The beginning date was chosen as there was no earlier public record; however, there is only one reference for each of the three years preceding 1683, after which the record is full. The terminal date was probably determined by convenience. The text is made from a collation of the records at the Hall of Records, referred to only as "Archives," and those of Kent County. Where a record exists in both places it is so noted.

Researchers who have used the Maryland Calendars will be disappointed that provisions of the wills are not given. One would wish too that the Editor had given us a fuller Preface. There is no description of the original records and no account of the methods used in collating. The Editor's introduction to the Index is not clear and there is no explanation of its separate pagination. It would have been helpful had the index referred to item numbers rather than to pages, for in an all-name index it is often necessary to run the page before finding the name desired. Unhappily, this index contains some troublesome inconsistencies, but none are serious enough to detract from the real worth of the book. The Editor is to be congratulated.

MORRIS L. RADOFF

Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.

Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff; A Guide to Country Antiques. By EARL F. ROBACKER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1944. 163 pp. \$3.50.

As a guide to "innocents abroad" Earl F. Robacker's "Pennsylvania Dutch Stuff" has value. To those planning a house in the locality or a

domicile elsewhere decorated in such a style this little book sorts into neat compartments various types of Pennsylvania made or used household furnishings. The things with which one is generally familiar are gracefully treated but unfortunately the author does not go further into the questions of when, where, how and why on various matters pertinent to background and decorative arts.

Frankly written for the small purchaser, the book gives honest and just assessments of what is available, in approximately what brackets, the chances of purchase through dealers or at country auctions, what objects are being reproduced and faked and the likelihood of obtaining various items. As real outstanding 17th or 18th century pieces are either non-existent or unobtainable they are barely mentioned.

As early as 1683 "Dutch" emigrants came to this country, but little or no attempt is here made to trace continuity of stylistic trends, lags in style, contrasts on the levels of execution. Casually mentioned are relationships and similarity to Jacobean, Old Swiss, and French provincial models but no definite connection or chronology is attempted.

Elements of design from tulip, heart, peacock, canary, roosters, angels, fruit, flowers, houses, horses, deer, stars, pomegranates, to the tree of life, are agreeably described and are said to have little or no iconographical significance—although in the interest of consistency in regard to the tree of life Mr. Robacker says "The pattern had a special interpretation in the fine work done at the Ephrata Cloisters, where the artists used flowers as well as branches to convey mystical symbolism." Both in matter and manner Mr. Robacker's book is interesting and instructive. Most specific are the chapters on spatterware, Gaudy Dutch, glass, and japanned and painted wares. For those wishing further information on this 18th and 19th century folk culture of the Pennsylvania countryside there is a most excellent bibliography appended.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Western High School Past and Present. By ERNEST J. BECKER and an Editorial Board of the Faculty. Baltimore, 1944. 256 pp.

An important feature in the celebration last year of their Hundredth Birthday by both Eastern and Western High School of this city was the publication by each school of a commemorative volume. Any reviewer of *Western High School Past and Present*, which appeared as the celebration came to a close in November, must feel a strong inclination to develop his subject by the device of comparison and contrast between this volume and *Through the Years at the Eastern High School*, which appeared shortly after the joint public exercises opening the celebration in March; but limitations of space oblige the present reviewer to forego this tempting task and confine herself strictly to the volume in question, which in itself, indeed, provides a real embarrassment of riches.

Western High School Past and Present is not a history in the exact sense of the word nor does it make any claim to being so. The main

literary sections of the book are (1) the "History" proper, presenting in fluent, readable review Western's century of progress as comprised in the principalships of six men (Robert Kerr, David Hollingshead, Andrew Kerr, Henry West, David Weglein, Ernest Becker) and one woman (Mildred Coughlin); (2) a series of interesting "Department Histories" (according to subjects taught, with the addition of the Guidance Department and the Library), a section significantly sub-titled "The Evolution of Teaching of High School Subjects through the Century"; (3) a delightful variety of "Memories" by former and present faculty members and students.

Out of the many remaining items provided for the reader's instruction and delight the reviewer has space to mention only three: "The Faculty," a gracious tribute to all of Western's teachers past and present; "The Poe Monument," an account of Western's connection with this memorial that makes a valuable addition to Baltimore's literary history; and "The Story of the Campus," the colorful and really thrilling tale of the transformation of a completely devastated tract of ground into what the writer proudly describes, quoting a visitor's comment, as "the most beautiful public school grounds in the East."

This book is Western, past and present.

ANABEL E. HARTMAN

Eastern High School

Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Twenty-sixth Report. Baltimore: The Society, 1945. 56 pp.

The Society for the History of Germans in Maryland is rounding out its sixth decade of uninterrupted existence. During that period it has published a series of reports which have contributed much of interest and value regarding the life and work of the German element in Maryland. The present report—the twenty-sixth in the series—continues that effort.

An article by Dr. Dieter Cunz, secretary of the Society, and a member of the faculty of the University of Maryland, discloses the large part that men of German ancestry have played in the development of that lively institution. Dr. Cunz, by the way, has ready for the press a History of the Germans in Maryland to which he has devoted five years of research.

Other articles in the Report include a history of the German gymnastic movement in Baltimore by Dr. Augustus J. Pahl, also of the University of Maryland faculty; a lively account of the origins and development of Martini Lutheran church in Baltimore by its present pastor, Mr. E. F. Engelbert; and two articles dealing with German Catholicism in Maryland by Dr. Paul Gleis of Catholic University in Washington, and Lt. (j. g.) Charles R. Gellner.

The present report is sponsored by Mr. Otto M. DuBrau, and dedicated to the memory of his wife.

E. J. BECKER

Thomas Cresap, Maryland Frontiersman. By KENNETH P. BAILEY.
Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1944. 322 pp.

The life of Thomas Cresap, who was, among other things, carpenter, trader, imperialist, land speculator, and Maryland lawmaker, should provide a fascinating yarn. His ninety-six years practically spanned the eventful eighteenth century. Mr. Bailey, however, with an exhaustive bibliography (over 150 items) at hand, has failed to take full advantage of his subject or of the source material available.

In his preface, the author states that he has "two major objectives: to present a critical study of the life of this noteworthy character and to tell the story of the advance of the frontier across western Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania until it reached and passed the Allegheny Mountains." He has apparently lost sight of the first objective, and only partially attained the second. The book contains a number of interesting narratives, such as those of Cresap's personal war with Pennsylvania and his connection with the Ohio Company, but only meager attention is given to his personal life and character. Of the 322 pages comprising the biography, 124 consist of notes and bibliography, and the remainder is chiefly occupied with various phases of the French and Indian War, Pontiac's Conspiracy, the Vandalia project, and other matters connected with the securing of our independence and the westward movement into the Ohio Valley.

Mr. Bailey's biography is not without merit, but its value lies in his compilation of source material rather than in any delineation of the character of the picturesque and dynamic Cresap, who is worthy of better treatment.

W. BIRD TERWILLIGER

There Are No Dull Dark Days. By PERCY THAYER BLOGG. Baltimore:
H. G. Roebuck & Son, [1944]. 92 pp.

This is the book of a nature-lover. Mr. Blogg is a widely known sportsman—bird hunter and angler—of Maryland, but he is before all else, a naturalist. Here he intersperses accounts of his hunting experiences with songs in prose and verse in praise of Nature's ways and moods. His combination of a keen eye and deep insight with ability to draw have resulted in adding many fine pen-and-ink sketches to round out the presentation. There are also a number of superb photographs.

There is historical value in Mr. Blogg's stories, whether of hunting grounds such as Bodkin Creek and Miller's Island, or of famous hunters and their bags in days before the law set a limit to the latter. In a Foreword Mr. Talbott Denmead, of the United States Fish and Wild Life Service, pays the tribute of a friend to Mr. Blogg's high sense of sportsmanship.

J. W. F.

Index to the Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865. [By LOUISE QUARLES LEWIS. Annapolis:] Hall of Records Commission [1945]. 74 pp. \$1.00.

At last—an index to W. W. Goldsborough's book on the Maryland contingent in the Confederate Army. Every librarian of Maryland and many elsewhere will rise and thank the author for this work, the doing of which must have been tedious in the extreme. The edition used was the revision of 1900, not the lesser original of 1869. Goldsborough's book contains about 5,000 names, while Maryland fighters for the South are believed to have numbered about four times as many. This is not, therefore, a complete roster but it is the fullest likely ever to be compiled. In a foreword Dr. Morris L. Radoff, State Archivist, explains how the fortunate tie-up between the Hall of Records and the State Historian, Maryland Division, U. D. C., came about.

JAMES W. FOSTER

OTHER ITEMS RECEIVED

Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939. Compiled by JAY MONAGHAN. (Collections of the Illinois Historical Society, XXI-XXII.) Springfield, Ill.: Historical Society of Illinois, 1945. 2 vols. Gift of the Society.

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Cavalryman Out of the West: Life of General William Carey Brown. By GEORGE FRANCIS BRIMLOW. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1944. 442 pp. \$5.00.

Israel Pemberton, King of the Quakers. By THEODORE THAYER. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1943. 260 pp. Gift of the Library, University of Pennsylvania.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

THE TRUMAN ADDRESS

The address of President Truman printed in this issue calls attention to the role of historical societies in the national life. Many who have not considered the broad services of such organizations in spreading the story of the evolution of American society, its political growth and civic accomplishments as well as its military achievements, will find in his words a testimonial to the aims and work of these societies.

Comment on this subject from such a high source affords opportunity to underscore the informational and educational services which historical societies are prepared to render. They are not only sources of genealogical information and headquarters for those cherishing a sentimental attachment to state and local celebrities, but they are also well-springs of the individual and collective experience of generations which have gone before. As the President has forcefully pointed out, our intelligence bids us profit by this experience.

To rededicate the Maryland Historical Society to its original aims—to collect and preserve the records and significant relics of the past relating to Maryland and the United States and to spread information about the past—is to play a part in the life of the present. The Society's large and varied collections are a power-house capable of influencing the life of today. Through its published accounts and interpretations of past events and of the lives and actions of Marylanders great and small under the pressure of historical situations, the Society reports the behavior of a segment of mankind and illustrates the causes which have led us to our present way of life. Through its exhibitions it seeks to recreate the atmosphere of past generations in order to supply a realistic grasp on human experience, especially in the Maryland scene. This is not to lose sight of the enjoyment and recreation provided by special groups of materials which interest collectors.

Particularly significant are the opportunities the Society affords for educating young America. The local approach is the door to the child's understanding of history. Let him first learn the background of his own community, and see the pictures and furnishings with which the makers of our commonwealth surrounded themselves and his curiosity is sure to be aroused. Education of the future will embrace greater emphasis on American history and government. To be well educated one must know the chain of cause and effect in America and the main threads which have been woven to create the present fabric of our lives. Colleges are already announcing changes in their curricula to comprise a broader approach to American history.

To meet the certain demand for better presentation of the information the Maryland Historical Society stands ready to impart, that is to say, for

more complete guides to its collections, for fuller organization of its museum objects and for more telling arrangement of its exhibitions, the Society needs larger funds than are at its disposal. When memorials are being considered, what more appropriate could be found than a memorial to teach some lesson in our own history? There are many forms which a suitable memorial might take. For instance, a lecture hall of medium size; a Chesapeake marine room to house the Society's ship models, paintings, prints and old shipwright's tools in modern, effective setting; a foundation for an annual series of lectures on American history to bring outstanding scholars to Baltimore; a fund for purchase of rare books, furniture, or paintings of Maryland origin to insure proper growth of the collections; a permanent exhibition of costumes (there is no present display of this type in Baltimore); a fund for restoration of old paintings; and a case to hold the Society's collection of prints.—THE EDITOR.

"The United States has great traditions to remember and great ideals for which to strive. But if the traditions and the ideals exist only in textbooks and classrooms they are museum pieces. We must *live* our traditions and our ideals before we can teach them. The study of American history can help to produce loyal, intelligent, coöperative, well-rounded citizens only if our society honors citizens who possess those qualities."

—EDGAR B. WESLEY, *American History in Schools and Colleges* (Macmillan, 1944).

CHAPLAINS IN WAR SERVICE, 1776-1781

An article on "Chaplains in the American Revolution," by Charles H. Metzger, of West Baden College, which appeared in the April issue of *The Catholic Historical Review*, has timely interest when the work of chaplains in World War II is very much in the public eye. It appears that the clergy of the Revolutionary period were not idle spectators of the struggle for American independence, but took an active part, arousing enthusiasm and patriotism, promoting enlistments, and even forsaking the pulpit to join the ranks.

After describing Washington's deep interest in the appointment of chaplains and his solicitude for their work, Prof. Metzger considers the measure in which the various denominations answered the call to service. The Congregationalists topped the roster with 50, the Presbyterians followed with 21, the Episcopalians had 14, the Baptists 8, and the Roman Catholics 1. Connecticut and Massachusetts led with 26 chaplains each, and were followed by Pennsylvania with 15 and Virginia with 10. Maryland and Delaware were at the bottom with two chaplains apiece. The denominational connections of Maryland's representatives, Daniel Sere and Amos Thompson, are unknown.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Seventeenth-Century Prices—A group of materials on the history of prices in the seventeenth century has been given to the Society by Dr. V. J. Wyckoff, of the University of Maryland. The items include 19 letters from scholars discussing the sources for information on colonial price history. Among the correspondents are: Charles M. Andrews, Anne Bezanson, Arthur H. Cole, Edwin F. Gay, N. S. B. Gras, T. J. Wertenbaker and Lawrence C. Wroth. Especially valuable are 31 tables showing the prices of servants, cloths, livestock, cattle, grains and other articles in pounds of tobacco, 1665-97. The attention of research workers is called to the existence of these materials, in order that the spadework involved in their compilation, much of it performed in London during the 1930's, may not have to be duplicated.

Stevens—In the note on this family appearing on page 80 of the March, 1945, *Magazine*, it was stated that Magdaline Gary married into the family of *Warren*. This was an error for *Warner*.

Bowling—Can anyone give me any information as to the ancestry of Joseph Bowling, b. 1827 in Charles Co., Md., son of Wm. Francis and Theresa Simms Bowling? His family is said to have come to Maryland with the Calverts, but I am wondering if he is descended from Capt. James Bowling (d. 1693) of "Bowling's Reserve" who married Mary Brooke.

Joseph Bowling married Louisa Winchester who was descended from Col. Edward Dorsey; I am their great grandson.

J. EDGAR BRUNS,
Brewster, N. Y.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XL

SEPTEMBER, 1945

No. 3

SOME LESSONS OF HISTORY¹

By General GEORGE C. MARSHALL

I approach this evening without written notes, or any special preparation, because as a matter of fact when Senator Radcliffe called me on the telephone and arranged in a matter of two minutes for me to talk to a group of the Maryland Historical Society I thought I was accepting an invitation to talk over a dinner table to a small group of members of the association. It was not until four days ago that I learned from Mrs. Marshall that I was involved in talking to a rather large assembly.² It was then too late for me to alter my plans or rather lack of plans.

I was quite pleased by Senator Radcliffe's invitation to address the Society because of my intense interest in history. My interest was a natural one in the first place. Early in life I acquired a fondness for the subject but when I came to realize the tremendous importance of a knowledge of world history to the citizens of a democracy my interest became greater. My greatest concern for some time now has been war, the most terrible pestilence of mankind. We all recognize this as a horrible disease of civilization; Americans especially, of the peoples of the world, hate war and inveigh against it, particularly after a war has been ended, but we do very little to avoid it. There must be specific causes for wars,

¹ Substance of an address by the Chief of Staff, United States Army, before the Society on the evening of June 11, 1945.

² Mrs. Marshall is a former Baltimorean—EDITOR.

and there must be a way to eliminate them. The question is, what can be done that has not been done?

Most persons, particularly those of my generation react to what has occurred in the past largely in accordance with the belief and impressions they derived from grade and high school histories. I am not referring to those who were fortunate enough to pursue advanced courses in history at college or university. I have in mind the great numbers of people with a casual secondary school knowledge of history who have unfortunately acquired much misinformation because they were taught according to the prevailing local prejudice. I recall clearly my high school beliefs concerning the Boston Massacre and my great surprise when later in life I learned the facts.

Another factor contributing to general misunderstanding is the manner in which history is taught. I came out of school with some dates in my mind—1066, for example—but without any, or certainly very little, idea of cause and effect. I had no conception of the underlying causes of the endless repetitions of wars that have plagued mankind for centuries and set us back the Lord knows how many years in our progress towards a peaceful civilization.

It has seemed to me, especially during the latter part of my 43 years of Army service, that something very definite was required beyond the casual approach to the problem we have taken heretofore. As I said before, we recognize war as a terrible pestilence, we deplore it, and inveigh against it, but we do little to determine its exact causes and to establish what might have been done to avoid war. I think that one of our most serious mistakes is that while we are in the throes of war, and immediately after the close of a war, we consider the subject of avoiding future wars in a too highly emotional and intense state of mind. Later, when that great factor of all political campaigns, the annual budget, is under consideration whatever good resolutions we have had regarding measures to avert war, whatever lessons we thought we learned in the most recent war, all are abandoned almost completely. I am speaking now from very specific knowledge.

I sailed for France—please pardon these personal references—in the last war, on the first ship of the first convoy. Eighty per cent of the men were recruits. Many had received their weapons on the trains en route to the port of embarkation. We didn't know what equipment our unit had, since it was spread over a number

of ships and had embarked hastily. I first learned the organization of this unit, the First Division, which made a famous reputation later on in that war and again in this one, from a photostat of an organizational chart which I received after we had sailed. And I was a member of the general staff of that Division. Another member of the general staff was General McNair, who was killed in this war. We examined the photostat of our organization during the voyage, but could not know whether the units on other vessels were organized or equipped as indicated on the chart. It was not until we landed in St. Nazaire, and I proceeded to check up, as the vessels docked, that I found that some of the troops had never heard of the weapons with which they were supposed to be armed. That is the way we went to the war in France in June of 1917. The Lord was good to us and so were our Allies who held the line, as in this present war, until we had an opportunity to get ourselves organized and trained.

We were very fortunate in this present war in the action of Congress — reflecting the will of the people — which gave us Selective Service more than a year in advance of Pearl Harbor. But do not forget, when you study the history of this war, the tribulations and trials the Army suffered in carrying out its preparations, the numerous attacks that were made on almost everything we attempted. Don't forget the misunderstandings of those days and what they cost us later in delays of preparation. We could not get our plans under way as rapidly as the dire emergency required even though we knew it was all but upon us.

I returned from the last war with General Pershing and spent a month with him in the Adirondacks during September and early October of 1919, studying the hearings which had been in progress before the Military Committees of Congress since the previous spring. Virtually every phase of national defense, of the peacetime character of the Army, had been treated in those hearings, which were to close with General Pershing's testimony in October. I sat with him during those hearings, during the presentation of his advice regarding the post-war Army. The Committees then worked on the draft of a bill which was debated during the spring and came to a vote in June 1920. A very respectable measure for national defense was enacted. It was a formal military policy, except that the backbone, or teeth, of the program was omitted, the training phase. There was a period from the Armis-

tice in 1918 to the summer of 1920, when everybody seemingly was aware of the tragic lessons of the war. Though Congress did not take the full measures for security advised by the Army, it did enact a very wise piece of legislation which, had it been supported by the required appropriations through the years immediately following, might possibly have prevented this present war.

The thought I should like to leave in your minds is this: within either nine or fourteen months—I might have the two periods reversed—Congress took action, through the annual budget, to cut the Army it had just authorized from 18,000 officers and 285,000 men, down to about 175,000 men and 14,000 officers; either nine or fourteen months later another cut in the military budget pared the Army down to 150,000 men; the next blow reduced the Army still further to 125,000 men about a year later, and cut the officer strength to 11,000. None of the provisions of the law of June, 1920, had been changed but the result was that the field army of the United States had nearly vanished. The only places where we still had sizable garrisons for training were in Hawaii and the Philippines and a smaller force in the Panama Canal Zone. Please remember that these governmental reactions occurred almost immediately after the wise efforts which had resulted in the Act of June, 1920. I mean to suggest by this discussion that we have to face the high probability of the same thing happening again, however much we may feel today that we have learned our lesson. I have very little faith in the accuracy of that statement I now hear so frequently: "We have learned our lesson."

It is important for us to realize how close a call this country had at several times during this war. My own embarrassment in talking in this manner is that I am naturally regarded as a prejudiced witness concerned with only one side of the picture. Although in my position I may not be able to qualify as a strictly unbiased witness, I can qualify as an expert witness regarding the military situations of this war. I know how close were the calls. I am keenly conscious of the agonizing periods through which we passed when we couldn't explain, and yet explanations were demanded; of how we suffered reverse after reverse, knowing the fault was basic and involved the fundamental failure of the people of the United States to prepare themselves against danger. I repeat

—the people of the United States and their point of view from 1920 to 1940. I felt time and again in the years of peace that our position, supported by public opinion, was untenable and I knew well what it was to mean. In a war, every week of duration adds tremendously, not only to the costs, measured by appropriations, but in casualties measured in lives and mutilation.

The struggles for existence that we had in Africa and in New Guinea, were the direct responsibility of the policies of the people of the United States in the years from 1920 to 1939.

Our history records victories. We have triumphed in each of our wars, except for those of our States who were on the Southern side in the Civil War. As a result I feel that many of our people have been misled into a feeling of false security by the teaching or talk of those in certain positions of authority or responsibility. Finally the resulting reaction misled the Japanese and tempted them into a war against us. The Japs were led to think that our young men would not fight, that they were soft and unwilling to defend their country. It was a terrible thing to advertise a disgraceful weakness—if there was such a weakness—and tempt the highwayman to try for the kill. If there is any other way of defending one's country except by force of arms, God knows I should welcome it.

The full impact of the war comes more to me, I think, in some respects than it does to anyone in this country. The daily casualty lists are mine. They arrive in a constant stream, a swelling stream, and I can't get away from them. When you feel, as I do, that they might have been avoided, it is a terrible thing to contemplate. And when you know what can happen again if some definite, practical preventive action is not taken, that all this endless horror and colossal waste may be repeated, it is even more tragic.

If we had done the things that might have been done, if we had heeded the lessons of history, I think we could have been spared the greater part of our losses.

I may be in error in this historical example. The Romans had a peace of some 250 years. The entire life of this country since the adoption of the Constitution involves little more than 150 years. Yet the number and size of our wars make quite a contrast with the famous Roman Peace. It seems we clearly could have avoided some if not all of these wars, especially since we have had the best of advice from our greatest American, George Washington, who

both as a citizen and a soldier, understood so well the people of this country and the hazards which they should guard against.

It would be a fine thing if a way were found to amplify or improve the teaching of history through the medium of the motion picture in our grammar and high schools. I believe a man with the talents of Frank Capra could present outlines of certain broad phases of history in such a manner that it would make a deep impression on the schoolboy. He did a superb job along this same line for the army. The student would acquire an understanding that would stick in his mind. Some better means of teaching the salient lessons of history to the majority of the people is an inherent necessity for a democracy. We urgently need a more effective system of instruction and I am sure the motion picture medium can be of much assistance. There is an obligation, it seems to me, to explore these possibilities, that rests on a society such as yours.

I loathe war. No one in my position could feel otherwise. I have finished my military career, but I feel that I must do my best to have us avoid a tragic repetition of our past neglect, our past failures. Situated as we are between the Atlantic and the Pacific, with all the resources and wealth we have, and with the courage of America, it would be a tragedy to civilization if we should again be blindly stupid and expose the coming generations to a repetition of this grim business. It must not be. If Americans can be brought to understand history, it will not be. * * *

[General Marshall here entered into an intimate account of various phases of the war illustrating the improvised procedure which had to be followed at times and the dangerous crises which arose from the nation's state of unpreparedness. The following excerpts from this part of his address may be quoted.]

I was asked to say something about the course of the war. You are familiar with the immediate events leading up to the cessation of hostilities in Europe, but I doubt if many of you realize the rapidity of the action. As we lived through the struggle it seemed terribly long to all of us. Our combined Intelligence Headquarters sent me the other day a map showing in solid colors on the map of Europe the progress each week beginning shortly before the landing in Normandy. What seemed so torturously slow at the time was in fact remarkably rapid. The little pin-point representing the Normandy bridgehead suddenly

blooms and spreads all over the map of France like a garden, and then comes the further expansion as the army crossed into Germany. There were the long Russian gains—showing the tremendous territory they covered. And there were the successive surges up through Italy, though we recall mostly the delays in the mountains. Out in the Pacific the successive advances covered tremendous distances in the vast reaches of that region.

* * * * *

It took me some time to understand Australia. Although I am familiar with maps and was trained in making maps, it was difficult for me to appreciate the coast line distances of Australia. We found ourselves in December, 1942, faced with great difficulties of communication and transportation. We had but one American soldier in the whole of Australia, I think. Here was this country with its vast coastal perimeter, with railroads of various gauges that took you forever to go from one place to another, and with few roads and limited electric communications, judging by our standards. Our army and supplies were being dumped on that continent without previous preparation. I selected an officer in whom I had great confidence and told him to drop his work within the hour and prepare to leave for Australia. I instructed him to select about fifty men, experts in transportation, communication, port operation, and all the services of supply, and be ready to leave for Australia in ten days. He left in eleven days with the fifty men, civilians, picked for their various qualifications from all over the United States. I was trying to capitalize on the initiative and talents of America. Congress provided funds—and in doing so they gave me a fine vote of confidence, first by placing twenty-five million dollars and later one hundred twenty-five million dollars at my complete disposal. On two days' notice I started Mr. Hurley off for Australia with some of this money to expedite the blockade running of supplies to MacArthur. The Japanese had reached Borneo. I then discovered that checks were not acceptable to prospective blockade runners. Those hard-bitten men wanted cash on the barrel for their families and for themselves. Our funds were in the bank at Melbourne several thousand miles away. I had to find some way to get cash in a hurry to the Celebes, Java, and Northwestern Australia. I managed this by

loading lots of \$250,000 each in bombers enroute across Africa, Arabia and India.

* * * * *

It was necessary to occupy Iceland before the Germans could beat us to that strategical post for guarding and controlling convoy movements. The laws then on the books introduced all sorts of complications; we couldn't use this man because the law prohibited for one reason, and we couldn't use that man because of still another legal restriction. There were various provisos regarding reserve officers, this one could go and that one could not; this private could go, that one could not. We dismantled sixteen companies to organize one small quartermaster company for service in Iceland. We shook the entire regular army and emasculated it to provide instructors and cadres for other units. We had to send overseas National Guard units that were only partially trained. We did our best under the appalling circumstances of unpreparedness. That's another example of the way we went to war.

I am sure people do not realize how close we came to catastrophe. Shortages of personnel forced us to strip division after division that we had trained. This drove the division commanders to strenuous protests. Just as those new units were reaching an excellent standard of efficiency, we would rip them to pieces in order to provide men as replacements for the growing battles overseas. We lacked sufficient replacements because deliveries from Selective Service were short in terms of a hundred thousand or more. We were confronted with a terrible problem for which the armies in the field paid the price, but we finally got things straightened out. We screened every non-combatant unit here and abroad, going through them like a sieve, to get men to be converted into infantrymen, and incidentally, I think I heard from the mothers of most of these men who were taken from other branches of the service, and from every father whose son I was forced to take out of college. After all these struggles, the last division to reach France landed there April 1, and the end came on May 8. We had just enough and no more, and it all went in.

The interesting part of this was that just as we got the great European army completed, we started to dismantle it within two

weeks of the time it had reached its peak. That's about as rapidly as such large matters can be handled or as close a computation as one can make. We had a close squeak with the enemy. I am a little afraid that in the tremendous emotional rejoicing over the victory and the cessation of the tragic daily lists of casualties, we shall forget almost completely the lessons of that early struggle, and that we shall forget also the special conditions which made it possible for us to carry through to a successful finish.

* * * * *

Then there is the matter of our international dealing. It is very, very important to understand the other man's point of view. I am talking now about the British, the French, the Russians. You may disagree with everything they contend, for that is a perfectly normal expression of human and racial differences. You have disagreements in your own State, towns, counties, cities. But, however much you disagree, if you understand the other man's point of view you can usually work out a reasonable adjustment.

I secured the permission of the British—and they were very loath at first to give it to me—to show the members of Congress what was going on in England. I showed them a chart giving the V-bomb strikes on the metropolitan district of London. Each bomb was represented by a dot—a very small dot—yet you could hardly make out the great metropolitan district for the multitude of those black dots. Fifty per cent of the houses had been destroyed or badly damaged, and the casualties had mounted to 70,000 since June 10, 1944. The point I was trying to make was this: every speech in Parliament, every statement by men in British public life and most of the newspapers of England were, in effect, delivered from the rostrum of that suffering city. Though practically no reference was made by them to the bombing, yet the views of the individual or paper were naturally colored by the surrounding destruction. At this very time, the front pages of our papers carried large headlines regarding the "tragic loss of life" in the Mid-West from floods, eight or ten lives, as I recall. England was silent, stoically silent. The enemy was not to know of his success and the English accepted their tragedy in silence. But the man speaking from that rostrum would inevitably have a somewhat different point of view from the man

who voiced his international policies or criticisms from the peaceful rostrum of Washington or New York.

What is going on now in San Francisco, and what comes next, makes it especially important historically to understand the other fellow's point of view. I seem during the past three years to have spent most of my time disagreeing, but I have made a very conscious effort to understand the background of the other fellow's situation before voicing my disagreements.

Somehow or other these different points of view must be merged. I know no other way than by a thorough knowledge of the lessons—not the specific dates—of history. My present interests are centered in two things, the early completion of this war and the measures this country will take to avoid future wars.

GERMAN PRISONERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By LUCY LEIGH BOWIE

Once before in our history the United States has been burdened with a number of German prisoners. These were the (so called) Hessians taken in the War of the American Revolution.¹ Probably they were then, in proportion to our wealth, size, population and resources, a heavier responsibility than Nazi prisoners are at the present time.

The first large concentration of prisoners was at Lancaster, Pa. Later they were sent to various places more remote from the theater of war. Log barracks within a stockade with block houses could be built at a short notice anywhere, but consideration had to be given to the question of sending prisoners to widely scattered positions, for the militia who were to guard the prisoners did not care to serve their tour of duty in the wilderness. Carlisle, Pa., was the central base of supplies for the western country and it was soon demonstrated that Frederick, Md., and Winchester, Va., were the most convenient places for locating the prisoners. They were later spread to Charlottesville, Staunton, and Warm Springs in Berkeley County, Va. Smaller quotas of prisoners were also located at Mt. Hope, N. J., Bethlehem, Pa., Rutland, Mass., and New Windsor, Conn. Not all of these were Germans and few prisoners remained stationary. The ebb and flow of the British and Hessian prisoners between these places will be shown later.²

The regulations governing the prison camps appear to have been worked out at Lancaster, Pa., in connection with the first large group of prisoners captured at Trenton. As new camps were formed these instructions were sent with the prisoners to

¹ The German states which sent troops to the American War were Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, Anspach-Bayreuth, Waldeck and Anhalt-Zerbst.

² Cf. Board of War Reports and Letters, series 147 and 148. Papers of the Continental Congress, Library of Congress.

each new Commissioner of Prisoners. A staff consisting of a barracks master, quartermaster, wagon master, forage master and surgeon was provided for.³ The guard was to be furnished by state militia with two companies on a two-months' tour of duty. From these the officer of the day was to be selected. To preserve order and regularity among the prisoner troops, two officers of each captured regiment were to reside constantly at the barracks. The junior officers took this duty in rotation. American sentries were posted and a guard was kept in readiness to prevent disorder.⁴ The officers were on parole, as was the custom. They could commute their rations, which amounted to two dollars a week (the same amount the British allowed captured officers). Each field officer was allowed three soldiers for servants, captains two soldiers as servants and subalterns one. Their allowance for support was the same.⁵ There was always difficulty in connection with feeding the prisoners and it was suggested that if they were hired out, it would save rations.⁶ Sometimes this was allowed and sometimes forbidden, depending upon how recently the report from our prisoners in the hands of the British had been received. The English Captain Anbury considered that "the Americans show more indulgence to the Germans, permitting them to go round the country to labor, and being for the most part expert handicrafts, they realize a great deal of money exclusive of their pay."⁷ When hired out, Congress paid the prisoners in money the value of their rations and farmers gave them their meals and pay besides. The wages for an ordinary laborer were seven dollars and a half a month. The person who hired them was responsible for them and was required to pay Congress two hundred dollars if one deserted; and there is a record of this security being as high as a thousand pounds in the case of an expert wheelwright.⁸ It was said that never was an army as well paid as the Hessians.

³ *Bland Papers*, edited by Charles Campbell (Petersburg, Va., 1840), I, 158-159 (Appendix J).

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 27, 28.

⁵ Rawlings MSS. Maryland Historical Society, *et al.* See Note 22.

⁶ Rawlings MSS. Richard Peters, secretary of the Board of War, to Rawlings, Dec. 28, 1779.

⁷ Thomas Anbury, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (London, 1789), II, 440-441.

⁸ *Exiles in Virginia* (Phila., 1848) p. 160. Max von Eelking, *German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence*, translated by J. G. Rosengarten (Albany, 1893), p. 83. *Bland Papers*, II, 26. For details of wealth accumulated by the Hessian Army, see J. G. Rosengarten, *A Defence of the Hessians* (Phila., 1899), pp. 8, 20.

In regard to the treatment of prisoners, General Washington's instructions were these: "While I do not wish you to show them unnecessary rigor, I wish you to be extremely cautious not to grant any unnecessary indulgences."⁹

The first prisoners taken in large numbers were from the battles of Trenton and Princeton.¹⁰ Nine hundred and eighteen were captured at Trenton; before the campaign was over the number had risen to over two thousand. Those from Princeton were for the most part English and Scotch, while those from Trenton were Germans. These last had earned an infamous reputation on their march through the Jerseys: rapine and plunder seemed their first object. Tories and patriots were robbed without discrimination. The German soldiers claimed they had been given the "right of plunder" by the British government. Consequently General Howe could do nothing to remedy the situation.¹¹

Following the loss of Fort Mifflin, N. Y., late in November 1776, the Continental Army had retreated through New Jersey and crossed the Delaware late in December. This was a season of black despair to loyal Americans. No one dreamed that the army could recross the Delaware and attack the Hessian troops at Trenton on Christmas. People could not believe the news when it was reported. However, seeing was believing. When Washington marched his prisoners through Philadelphia en route to Lancaster where they were to be imprisoned, people thronged the way to see these "terrible beings" who had to endure the "hootings and revilings" of the multitude.¹²

At Lancaster they were housed in barracks within a high stockade of the usual type, that is, surrounded by a trench, a blockhouse at each corner with a central gate for general use. Upon their arrival a return was made of those who had skilled trades. They included weavers, tailors, shoemakers, stocking-makers, millers, bakers, butchers, carpenters, joiners, smiths and plasterers.¹³ These numbered 815 of those captured. As craftsmen were in great demand, by March, 1777, the American authorities allowed them to be

⁹ *Bland Papers*, II, 29.

¹⁰ Washington's Return of prisoners taken at Trenton, from William S. Stryker, *Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (Boston, 1898), pp. 386, 472.

¹¹ [Samuel A. Harrison] *Memoir of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman*. (Albany, 1876), p. 140.

¹² Washington Irving, *Life of George Washington* (N. Y., 1855-1859), II, 491. Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹³ Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 196. This list was made January 10, 1777.

hired out in the Lancaster area. Thirty were selected by a forge and iron foundry at Mt. Hope, N. J., to make cannon and shot for the American Army, and at one time a group of Scotsmen was hired by President Witherspoon of Princeton who was a fellow Scot.¹⁴

The captured officers were entertained by the Continental officers at dinner, as was the custom of that period. They were then marched under guard, commanded by Captain Farmer of the Pennsylvania Riflemen, to Baltimore and delivered to the Continental Congress which was in session there. Congress ordered them to be quartered at Dumfries, Va., which was then a thriving tobacco port at the mouth of the Quantico River.¹⁵ They were given their parole and enjoyed the society of the neighborhood.

In August 1777 the British fleet with transports of the British Army entered the Chesapeake Bay. Washington considered that possibly one of their objects might be to rescue the captured troops, so Col. Atlee, who was in charge at Lancaster, was instructed that should General Howe's army land at Head of Elk, he was immediately to transfer all prisoners to Reading, Pa.¹⁶ The British did land at Head of Elk. On Sunday, August 24, the bellman went around the town of Lancaster calling upon all inhabitants who had hired Hessian prisoners to take them to the barracks and receive receipts for them.¹⁷

As the prisoners numbered about two thousand, the town of Reading was in no condition to safely house them upon immediate notice. They were accordingly scattered. Three hundred and sixty-five were sent to Carlisle, three hundred and thirty were lodged at Salem Church, Lebanon, Pa. Seven hundred and forty were quartered within a few days in the Moravian Church at Hebron, Pa., and, according to the diary of the Rev. Peter Bader, a very obstreperous and disorderly lot they were.¹⁸

After the battles of Germantown and Whitemarsh, the British

¹⁴ Board of War Reports, Series 147, II, No. 515, Library of Congress.

¹⁵ Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹⁶ War Dept. Archives, Class A, Board of War Papers. Library of Congress. Records in the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, were very inadequately examined as most of them had been removed to places of safety because of the war. L. L. B.

¹⁷ *Passages from the Diary of Christopher Marshall Kept in Philadelphia and Lancaster during the American Revolution* (Phila., 1849). See entry for Aug. 24, 1777.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, entries for Aug. 25, 27, and 28, 1777. See also P. C. Croll, *Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley* (Phila., 1895).

army continued the march towards Reading and threatened Lebanon. It was then necessary to evacuate all prisoners from the battle zone. Three hundred prisoners were sent to Winchester, Va., where their arrival was entirely unexpected. The Continental officer who rode ahead to arrange for their reception reached the town only a day before their arrival. These prisoners were fortunately an orderly group and were immediately hired out to the country people to make room for 300 English and Scotch prisoners who arrived three days later.¹⁹ These were housed in Fort Loudoun which was in poor condition. Log barracks had to be hastily thrown up within the enclosure for their accommodation.

In all, about 2,000 prisoners were sent to Virginia and Maryland. The next place to be filled with them was the old stone barracks at Frederick, Md.,²⁰ which became so crowded that the overflow was housed wherever strongholds, such as stone barns and the like, could be found in Frederick and Washington Counties. To relieve this congestion the Maryland Council decided to repair Fort Frederick in Washington County. It would require a good deal of work to put the quarters there in order to receive prisoners. Doors, windows, and floors were required. No time was to be lost and it needed only to be done in a rough way.²¹ Col. Moses Rawlings, a hero of the battle of Fort Washington, N. Y., was placed in charge and his regiment went on guard duty.²² The few prisoners who were placed there in 1779 were

¹⁹ *Exiles in Virginia*, pp. 144, 160, 174.

²⁰ These barracks are still much in their original condition and open to the public. For their history, see Lucy Leigh Bowie, *The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown* (Frederick, 1939).

²¹ *Archives of Maryland*, XVI, 439, 443.

²² Rawlings was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of a Maryland Rifle Regiment July 1, 1776. Upon the death of its colonel, the command devolved upon Lieut. Col. Rawlings. At this time the regiment formed a part of the garrison of Fort Washington, N. Y. When it was attacked by General Sir William Howe on November 16, 1776, the Maryland riflemen behaved with splendid courage. More than half of the 900 British casualties were inflicted by Rawlings' riflemen. William Gordon (*History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States*, N. Y., 1789) says it cost Knyphausen "near upon eight hundred men" to force the single regiment of Rawlings back. The American garrison was made prisoner at the fort and Col. Rawlings was confined in a hulk in New York harbor. He suffered the inhuman treatment that was inflicted upon the American prisoners but made his escape. In March, 1778, he was placed in charge of Fort Frederick, which is located in Washington County near Col. Rawlings' home at Old Town, where his family had settled before the Revolution. Later he removed to Virginia and died in Hampshire County in 1809. A collection of his papers was presented in 1944 to the Maryland Historical Society by his great grandson, Mr. Lloyd Rawlings, of Cumberland, Maryland. The contents of these papers aroused interest in the subject of German prisoners, and led to this study, which has been prepared at the editor's request.

hired to work at their trades and to cut wood for the barracks master; others were hired to work at iron and salt works and farm hands thrashed wheat to supply the French fleet.²³

The first division of prisoners sent to Fort Frederick was in January 1780. It numbered 280 men. They also could be hired to work on construction. Not many of them could have done so for when 800 German Convention prisoners were sent to Fort Frederick in December 1780, Col. Rawlings reported a lack of food and the barracks in a bad condition. It was not until the following June that it was ready to receive the remaining Hessian prisoners from Charlottesville, who were escorted to Fort Frederick by General Morgan with a guard of 400 militia. In October, 1781, Col. Rawlings reported that the rank and file at Fort Frederick numbered 5,953 with 750 officers.²⁴

The British surrender at Saratoga was followed by the inevitable dinner to the captured officers and the fellowship established was so cordial that Gen. Gates allowed Gen. Burgoyne to write his own terms of surrender. These authorized the entire army to be returned to England and with that object in view they were marched to Boston as the port of embarkation. Congress ratified the terms of this "Convention" but would not allow the troops to leave the country until the British government also would ratify them. The British government refused to recognize Congress as a lawful body, so the army was held and Burgoyne alone was allowed to sail for Europe.

This put the troops in a very bitter mood and they charged Congress with "perfidy." Under such circumstances there could be no harmony between the prisoners and their guards. Also the British troops were "regulars" and viewed all conduct from a strictly professional military point of view, while the American army was entirely civilian and knew little or nothing of military etiquette, so friction and misunderstanding developed at every point²⁵ and relief was mutual when Massachusetts decided her resources had been so strained that she could no longer furnish provisions to support these prisoners. It was then decided to send them to Charlottesville, Va. This part of the country was remote

²³ Board of War Reports, Series 147, II, No. 515, Library of Congress.

²⁴ Rawlings MSS, Maryland Historical Society. James Graham, *Life of General Daniel Morgan* (Cincinnati, 1856), p. 382.

²⁵ For American viewpoint, see *Memoirs of Major General [William] Heath* (Boston, 1798). For British viewpoint, see *Anbury's Travels*.

from the battle zone, extremely healthy and fertile and the additional fertile lands of Pennsylvania and Maryland were within easy access by main-traveled roads. The number of prisoners surrendered by Burgoyne's army at Saratoga was a total of 2,442 British and 2,198 Germans, but so many deserted to the British in New York that only 2,340 British and 1,949 Germans left Boston for the south.²⁶

The march to Virginia was to be made in five divisions. The first was to have been put in motion November 4, 1778, the others to follow at convenient intervals. The march was regulated and conducted by Col. Theodorick Bland²⁷ of the Continental Army with a staff of officers as assistants. The prisoners were to avoid large towns. As they passed through each State, they were to be guarded by the militia of that State, with the exception of New Jersey. Washington feared the British in New York might attempt their recapture, so moved his army into the middle of that State, detached Continental troops to meet the prisoners at Fishkill, and to each brigade of prisoners had as guard a brigade of armed Continentals who marched them in close columns to the Delaware.²⁸ They had, however, three days' rest at Walmsy's Tavern at Pompton, New Jersey, where the British paymaster made a most welcome appearance.²⁹

From Sherrard's Ferry on the Delaware, the route was to Wright's Ferry on the Susquehannah, down the old Monocacy Trail through Frederick Town to Noland's Ferry on the Potomac, through Leesburg, Va., on to Charlottesville. The second division reached Frederick on Christmas Eve. The officers were entertained by the Commissary of prisoners, Mr. M' Murdo, in the good old English fashion, while the soldiers enjoyed the bounty of the season with

²⁶ Francis J. Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* (Indianapolis, 1927), pp. 226, 298. The author is Librarian of the British War Office.

²⁷ *Bland Papers*, I, 106-7. Col. Theodorick Bland was born 1742 in Prince George County, Va. He led volunteers in opposing Gov. Lord Dunmore; published political letters over the signature of "Cassius"; was captain of 1st Troop of Virginia Cavalry, Continental army; became Lieutenant Colonel in 1777; escorted Convention prisoners to Charlottesville 1778 and became Commissioner of Prisoners there upon the resignation of Col. Harvie in March, 1779. He was a member of the Continental Congress 1780-83; appointed Lieutenant of Prince George County, Va., 1785; a member of the Virginia Convention but voted against the ratification of the Constitution. He was elected to Congress after its ratification and died while serving his term in New York, June, 1790.

²⁸ Anbury, II, 264-5.

²⁹ J. F. Tuttle, *Annals of Morris County, N. J.* (1882), p. 57. Anbury, *op. cit.*, II, 271.

the prisoners who were at the barracks. On the 26th came a blinding snowstorm, but this division was obliged to march on the 27th as Gen. Von Riedesel with his Germans would reach Frederick either that day or the next. The road to the ferry was cleared for them but the Potomac was in flood and filled with floating ice, which made the crossing difficult and they were obliged that night to bivouack in the snow.³⁰ On reaching Charlottesville they found the camps in an unfinished condition and that the First Division had taken possession of every place that was habitable. The men were obliged to find shelter as best they could while the officers on parole had to go as far as twenty miles for accommodations. It is stated that on their arrival between vexation and keeping out the cold, the officers drank freely of "an abominable liquor called peach brandy, which if drunk to excess, the fumes raise an absolute delirium"³¹ and in their cups no less than six or seven duels they fought within a few days. The Hessian officers had their own method of fighting these duels. Each party went to the field with a second. After stripping to the shirt they advanced to shake hands, then they cut and slashed at each other; with the least appearance of blood the conflict was over and courage and honor had been vindicated.³²

Although the quarters and barracks had not been erected, tools and materials were in abundance and the soldiers went to work with a will and soon a city with regular streets was built. Eventually most of the officers preferred quarters within the camp. Cabins could be built as desired. Coffee rooms, with billiard tables, were established, gardens were planted and pets were acquired. For those soldiers who desired to desert and return to the British army in New York a system with *sub rosa* recommendations from the officers was devised and, to their expressed satisfaction, running successfully. Living conditions had settled into a comfortable routine³³ for the duration, when to their great indignation they were summarily removed from Charlottesville to Winchester. The defeat of the American army at Camden had left Virginia wide open to invasion and a rescue of the Convention prisoners by the British was feared.

³⁰ Max von Eelking, *Memoirs of Major von Riedesel* (1868), p. 45. See also Anbury, II, 315-6.

³¹ Anbury, II, 319-20.

³² *Ibid.*, 453.

³³ *Ibid.*, 438-9.

It was intended to locate the Convention prisoners in either Maryland or Pennsylvania, but Pennsylvania protested that she was already supporting her quota and Maryland absolutely refused to allow these prisoners to enter the State. The support of such a large body of men in addition to the prisoners already there would greatly distress the inhabitants of such a small State and Maryland was actually in arms to oppose their crossing the Potomac.³⁴ None of the states wanted the entire support of these additional prisoners and it was eventually decided that supplies were to be drawn from Pennsylvania, only west of the Susquehannah, and from that part of Maryland that lies on the head water of the Potomac and that part of Virginia which is remote from navigation of the James and Potomac Rivers. A magazine was to be formed at Frederick Town and the Commissioner General of Purchases could call on the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia for provisions. All provisions were to be justly proportioned in each of the said states.³⁵

With this adjustment made, the British troops were sent to Frederick Town and the Germans to Fort Frederick. The officers were again on parole, but were under control of the Commissioner of Prisoners, Col. William Beatty at Frederick Town and Col. Moses Rawlings at Fort Frederick. They could live where they pleased and come and go as they pleased within a restricted area. They secured quarters in the best houses in these locations. Continental money had so depreciated, it was stated that even those who were best off were glad to get possession of good hard English gold.³⁶ The Convention prisoners remained in Maryland until September 1781 when officers were sent to New Windsor, Connecticut, and the soldiers to the barracks in Lancaster, Pa. The reason given was that their food supplies were needed for the army in the south,³⁷ for Washington and Rochambeau had by that time embarked upon the campaign against Cornwallis in Virginia which ended in the surrender at Yorktown.

At Yorktown, in spite of victory, the days were not happy ones for Washington and his officers. The French considered that never before had the Americans seen a properly organized and

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 465-6.

³⁵ Board of War Reports, Series 147, V, Nos. 9 and 13, Library of Congress.

³⁶ Anbury, II, 494.

³⁷ Board of War Reports, Series 148, I, No. 379, Library of Congress. Anbury, II, 502.

equipped army. The fact that when each stormed a redoubt, the Americans carried their position first made no lasting impression; doubtless due to the unconventionality of the American method. As to the British prisoners, their attitude towards their American captors was one of thinly veiled insolence and "the sang-froid and even the gayety of these gentlemen amazed me" was the comment of a French officer. "I could not understand that on the very day after such a catastrophe as had happened to them, they could forget it."³⁸ In fact, not an officer in the British army seemed to have comprehended what England lost by their surrender.

The captured British and Hessian armies were at once removed from the vicinity of Yorktown and temporarily quartered in the camp of log barracks in a thick woods at Winchester, Va., that had been vacated by the Convention troops. On January 26, 1782, a part of the English troops were sent to Lancaster, Pa., and the Germans were sent to the old stone barracks at Frederick Town, Md. The officers were on parole, as was the custom. There they remained until after peace was signed in 1783.³⁹

After the Hessian prisoners came to Maryland, Col. Charles Beatty, who was Lieutenant of Frederick county and in charge of them, wrote to the Maryland Council, February 1778, that "part of them were well behaved—part turbulent." If the well behaved could be hired out, he could better manage the turbulent. He had great trouble with the last party that came to this place. This was after about a hundred prisoners attempted to escape by setting fire to the new and very superior log jail that had been erected in Frederick Town to house prisoners of the better class. The fire was extinguished, repairs made; when the prisoners were returned to the jail, they were warned that should they attempt any such action again they would be driven back into the burning building and allowed to perish in the flames.⁴⁰ Col. Beatty's plan to separate the manageable from the unmanageable prisoners was refused by order of Elias Boudinot, Commissary General of Prisoners; and it is believed that after this all of those prisoners who by their defiance of authority proved ungovernable were sent to what has

³⁸ Stephen Bonsal, *When the French Were Here* (Garden City, N. Y., 1945), pp. 167-8.

³⁹ Eelking, *German Allied Troops*, p. 217. *Popp's Journal, 1777-1783*, translated by J. G. Rosengarten (Phila., 1902), pp. 24-27.

⁴⁰ John T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Phila., 1882), I, 141 note.



FORT FREDERICK, WASHINGTON COUNTY, MD.

Erected in 1756 by the Maryland Assembly for defense against the French and the Indians. Restored 1935-37. Adapted from a drawing made by Brantz Mayer in 1858.



HESSIAN BARRACKS AT FREDERICK

In original condition. The building is now a museum on the grounds of the Maryland School for the Deaf. Photo courtesy of Dr. Ignatius Bjorlee, Superintendent.

since been known as the Hessian Guard House at Carlisle, Pa.⁴¹ It was built in 1777 for a powder magazine and its brick walls and ceilings made it fire-proof. After this there is found no further complaint of unmanageable prisoners in the camps. In fact when a Virginia officer preferred charges against Gen. Morgan to the War Board for "unjust and unauthorized treatment to the 'Dutch prisoners'," some of the prisoners made affidavits that exonerated him.⁴²

Complaints against the Americans by the prisoners were to be expected. It is surprising that a greater number have not been found. The officers usually complained of restrictions. The men complained of living conditions and food supplies, and in one case of corporal punishment.⁴³ The most drastic punishment by the Americans of a prisoner that has been found recorded is that of the acting Lieutenant Governor of Detroit captured at Fort Vincennes and sent under guard to Williamsburg. The Virginia Council found him guilty of cruelty in exciting the Indians to barbarous treatment of the Americans and advised that he be put in irons, confined to the dungeon of the public jail, debarred of the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded from all conversation except with the keeper. These instructions were executed by Gov. Jefferson, and the punishment ordered was intentionally harsh as an act of retaliation. The Virginians were wholly uncomfortable in inflicting it and a feeling of relief was evident when the prisoner was given his parole a year later (1780) and he joined the British in New York.⁴⁴

After the first exchange of prisoners, Washington was not enthusiastic about continuing the practice and probably only continued to do so as an act of humanity. The prisoners returned to the British were healthy and vigorous with long term enlistments

⁴¹ It is believed that after this all prisoners who proved uncontrollable were sent to the Hessian Guard House at Carlisle, Pa. They were certainly segregated, the only question is where. Carlisle is the only place that fills the conditions that would have been necessary. It was constructed on the same lines as the then new jail at Philadelphia. As a base of supplies it was in constant and direct communication with the entire area wherein prisoners were concentrated and a garrison was always at hand to quell any disturbances. This building has been called the Hessian Guard House by the local population without change or variation since the Revolutionary period.

⁴² Thomas K. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants* (Winchester, 1909), p. 271.

⁴³ Board of War Reports, Series 147, II, No. 599, 611, Library of Congress.

⁴⁴ John D. Burk, *History of Virginia* (Petersburg, Va., 1804-16), IV, 353. Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (Phila., 1869-71), I, 231-2, 237, 258, 267.

to serve while those we received in exchange had enlisted for short terms, but under the circumstances this was of no importance, for on their discharge, they were so weak and emaciated as to be unfit for further service.⁴⁵ They had been vilely treated in the prison hulks and sugar houses in New York. The British Commissioner General of Prisoners, Col. Joshua Loring, was a brutal and avaricious man, appeasing his personal humiliation at the expense of the American prisoners who were in his power and, however cruel his conduct might be, Gen. Howe was not in a position where he could reprimand him.

There were about a hundred German prisoners in the first exchange, but their chances of selection for exchange after that was lessened by their own home governments. "The Duke of Brunswick hoped the British government would not for one moment dream of having the German prisoners exchanged and sent back to Germany. It would have a most unpleasant effect and create an unfortunate situation." The British paid thirty marks for each German recruit. If they were killed, wounded or captured the German rulers received another thirty marks. If they deserted they got nothing. The Landgrave of Hesse complained bitterly that a certain regiment had not lost a man. "His Hessians must remember they were Hessians and fight to the last man."⁴⁶

The various officers who had surrendered were quartered in the towns and on the plantations around them. They received "the polite behavior that was truly the mark of a gentleman and men of the world." They also found that, as they had been told, the further south they went, they encountered more liberality and hospitality.⁴⁷ These enemy officers on parole made a dashing appearance with their brilliant uniforms, spirited horses, soldier servants and were popular socially. There was a direct road from the Potomac River ferries to Wrights Ferry, Pa. This road passed through the town of York which became a gay capital when Congress convened there. Paroles could be temporarily extended so that idle young officers with time hanging heavy on their hands might take in society events. Alexander Graydon gives us a

⁴⁵ Board of War Reports, Series 147, I, 445, 448-51, Library of Congress. *Diary of Christopher Marshall*, entry for Oct. 3, 1778.

⁴⁶ *Hudleston*, p. 125.

⁴⁷ *Anbury*, II, 313-4.

glimpse of these gayeties. In his *Memoirs* he tells of the growing popularity of Hessian officers and of the new dance called Burgoyne's Surrender, which captured officers said Burgoyne himself would have enjoyed dancing.⁴⁸ There were constant balls and assemblies, "where it is said cards were played at \$100 a game."⁴⁹ The popularity of the officers of the British armies with the young ladies throughout this area where the prisoners were located was called the "Scarlet Fever." One of them was asked by a prisoner what the ladies would do when the enemy officers returned to Europe. Her answer was that they would then worship the "Blue Devils."⁵⁰ An extenuating circumstance for these girls was that all the young men in those localities had gone to the war, for prisoners were only located in intensely patriotic communities.

All things change and this popularity, which had no depth to it, melted away. Its loss in Maryland came with the news of Gen. Greene's defeats in the Carolinas. The Maryland line was extensively engaged there under such leaders as John Eager Howard, Otho Holland Williams and others, and their losses were heavy in proportion to their numbers. So severe were the Maryland casualties in this campaign that Washington commented upon them. The most prominent of the younger officers killed was Capt. William Beatty,⁵¹ son of Col. William Beatty, the Commissioner of Prisoners. He was very popular and had returned home many times as a successful recruiting officer. Grief was widespread through the entire neighborhood, and the sight of a red coat was an unpleasant reminder of this defeat and its sad consequences.

The captive officers resented the fact that the fortunes of war many miles away should cause them to be unwelcome in the patriotic families where they had been made welcome before, so their attitude also changed and they made themselves as disagreeable as they dared. When riding out, at the sight of a countryman, they would sweep down upon him at a rapid pace and force him off the road. They would also ride out in the early mornings

⁴⁸ *Memoirs of a Life Passed Chiefly in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1811).

⁴⁹ *Diary of Christopher Marshall*, entry for March 4, 1778.

⁵⁰ The uniform of the American officers was blue with buff facings.

⁵¹ Anbury, II, 500. George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, V, 403 (rev. ed., N. Y., 1876). See also Henry Lee, *Memoir of the War in the Southern Department* (N. Y., 1869); Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 458. Maryland Historical Society has Beatty's manuscript, diary and letters to his father.

to meet the farmers' daughters bringing produce to the market and would stop them, pinch their cheeks, chuck them under the chin and take a kiss or two; all the while complimenting them in the unrestrained language in which the eighteenth century permitted gentlemen to express admiration for "country wenches." The girls did not respond in accordance with Fielding, Goldsmith and Sterne, but considered their advances insults and told their fathers and brothers, who hotly resented such offensive behavior.⁵² The tension was not relieved until these officers were removed.

Dunlap claims in his *History of the American Theatre* that professional music was brought to the United States by the British army. The first band of music to be prominently mentioned was the Hessian Band at Trenton. Col. Rall, who was in command there, was enthusiastic over it. "The music! That was the thing! The hautboy—he could never get enough of them." The guards were released at two o'clock and the pickets at four. Headquarters were opposite the English church and officers with his men and musicians must march around it and Col. Rall never missed a parade.⁵³ After the battle an American officer expressed delight at having captured "a complete band of musick." This band was not sent to Lancaster with the other prisoners but was kept in Philadelphia where Congress was sitting.

The flag of the United States was adopted on June 14, 1777, and July 4 of that year was the first anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. There was a gala celebration in honor of that event. Bells rang all day and all the evening. At noon armed ships and galleys were drawn up before the city gay with the new flag flying. "At one o'clock the yards being manned, they severally fired thirteen guns. At three o'clock an elegant dinner was given to Congress, the civil and military officers, etc. "'Our Country' was on the lips of everyone." "The Hessian Band played some fine music." Another account states "The Hessian band, captured at Trenton, played excellent music." The celebration ended with a parade, bonfires, fireworks and a general illumination. Thus on July 4, 1777, occurred three notable first occasions. It was the first anniversary celebration of the Declaration of Independence. It was the first time the United

⁵² Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 458, note.

⁵³ Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

States flag was ever flown and the first time a band of music had played at an official American function.⁵⁴

When Congress was forced by the advance of the British to leave Philadelphia and convened in York, Pa., the Hessian Band was taken with them and while there was in constant demand for balls and parties of all sorts. They were paid fifteen pounds for each night's performance and their parole covered a wide latitude. This continued until Congress left York when the band was sent to join the other prisoners at Frederick Town. They continued in great demand and established a wide reputation. They played at the dinner and ball that was the first to celebrate the peace treaty between Great Britain and the United States. This was on April 6, 1783, at Rockville, Md. Frederick Town had a more elaborate celebration on April 23 and the fireworks that were displayed at nine p. m. on that occasion were made by the Hessian "cannoneers" at the barracks.⁵⁵

The reputation of the Hessian Band had by this time become so widespread that Adam Lindsay, the financial manager of the popular New Theatre in Baltimore, asked James McHenry for a letter to General Washington requesting that the Hessian Band at Frederick Town be paroled to Baltimore where he would employ them on a salary. Washington referred this request to the Secretary of War but added he had no doubt of his acquiescence. However, the declaration of peace put an end to further negotiations.⁵⁶

In the middle of April, 1783, notices appeared in the newspapers, signed by Gen. Lincoln, which instructed all prisoners who were permitted to work for the inhabitants of the United States to join their respective corps immediately. After this a constant stream of prisoners passed through Frederick Town en route for embarkation at New York. The British prisoners marched to Baltimore and sailed to New York in May, 1783. The Germans marched later, following the route by which they had come, up the old Monocacy trail to Wrightsville and across Pennsylvania

⁵⁴ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 569. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Phila., 1870), II, 295.

⁵⁵ *Diary of Christopher Marshall*, entries for Jan. 31, Feb. 10, 21, March 4, 6, 1778; *Popp's Journal*, p. 27.

⁵⁶ Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), p. 43.

and New Jersey to New Work.⁵⁷ By November all enemies had left the country.

Those who desired to remain could do so by "paying eighty Spanish milled dollars to ransom themselves."⁵⁸ It is not known how many did so, for they became entirely Americanized and their descendants are now numbered with the "old American" population.

⁵⁷ Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 161; Eelking, *German Allied Troops*, p. 85.

⁵⁸ Eelking, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

THE LOYALIST PLOT IN FREDERICK

By DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN

Two source collections, the "Loyalist Papers" in transcription in the New York Public Library, and the "Executive Papers" in the Hall of Records in Annapolis, have been found to contain information about a Loyalist plot in Frederick, concerning which little has previously been known. An outline account of the episode, as told by hearsay in Frederick, is to be found in Williams's *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, but a comparison of this with isolated mentions of the plot in the published *Archives of Maryland*, and with the recently found documentary material, shows the published account to be somewhat inaccurate.

Among the *Loyalist Papers* in New York, there is a copy of a letter on behalf of one "John Fritch," who seems to have been John Casper Frietschie. This name later became famous in Frederick, as its bearer was the father-in-law of Barbara Frietschie, whose husband bore his father's name. The letter reads as follows: ¹

New York, 17 Nov. 1779.

Sr. I beg leave to recommend to your favour the Bearer John Fritch & his refugee family consisting of a Wife & six children. The father came with the Army from Philadelphia in the Quarter Mas^{rs} Generals department & has ever since been employed as a Carter. He is a diligent trusty fellow and at this time waiting on the General Hospital. If it is in your power to allow him rations for the whole or part of his family it will be an Act of Charity at the same time favor confer'd on

Your most obed^t hble serv^t

J. Mervin North

If this document refers to John Casper Frietschie, whose name was spelled in a variety of ways, it explains his connection with the Loyalists, and his presence in New York, both stories hitherto unproven.

¹ New York Public Library, 175, Loyalist Papers, Second Series, II, 263.

So little is known about John Casper Frietschie that it is impossible to identify him beyond question as the subject of this appeal. We know that he married Susanna Weishaaren on September 17, 1772, in Frederick,² and that they had four children baptized in that church in 1775, 1776, 1778, and 1780,³ the last of these being a son, his father's namesake and later the husband of Barbara Hauer Frietschie. There may have been other children born or baptized elsewhere. If the identification is correct, this must have been the case, for the man in New York had six children in 1779, and only three of Casper Frietschie's children has been born in Frederick by that date. It is obviously possible that the writer of the letter was completely mistaken as to the size of the family, for he may have known his employee only slightly, and his family not at all. Family tradition accounts only for the four mentioned in the baptismal records, and in an examination of many papers of this and related families in Frederick for another purpose, no others were noticed. Some may have died in childhood, in which case they would not have figured in the type of papers seen. It was in these papers that the variations in spelling were noticed, including the form 'Fritch.'

The first mention of the plot in which Frietschie was involved occurs in the Journal and Correspondence of the State Council⁴ (of Maryland), where it is recorded that he was under suspicion on June 9, 1781:

Whereas from Information given this Board have good reason to believe that Henry Newcomer and () Bleachy of Washington County and () Fritch () Kelly and Tinkles of Frederick County are disaffected and Dangerous Persons whose going at Large may be detrimental to the State. The Lieutenant of Washington is therefore ordered to arrest Henry Newcomer and Bleachy without delay and have them before the Board forthwith that they may be dealt with according to Law.

The warrants were issued the same day⁵ but the instructions accompanying them allowed a delay in the arrests:

Enclosed you have Warrants to apprehend Henry Newcomer of Washington County, Fritch of Frederick Town. Kelly of Frederick County,

² MS Records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frederick (transcription, Maryland Historical Society), II, 199.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 635, 636, 665, 679.

⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, XLV (Baltimore, 1927), p. 467, 469.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 469.

Bleachy of Washington and Tinkles near Kelly, whose going at large we have the strongest reason to believe from the Information of Capt Orendorff is dangerous and may be detrimental to the State. The Capt. intends to have another interview with them and converse fully on the subject; he thinks they repose the utmost Confidence in him and will disclose all their views and mention the Names of the principal Persons concerned in the Plot. If you think no Consequence will arise from your delaying to execute the warrants, we would have you do it, till the fullest Information can be obtained otherwise we would have them taken into custody immediately and sent down, we wish you would see Capt. Orendorff and talk with him.

The arrests apparently took place a few days later for a letter ⁶ of June 21 to Thomas Sprigg ⁷ refers to their arrest and makes provision for their trial:

Yours of the 17th Instant we have received and think it a happy Circumstance that you have made such ample Discovery of a Treason so dangerous and extensive. A Special Court is appointed to meet at Frederick Town for the Trial of Criminals and goal Delivery, in which manner those persons apprehended in your County are to be tried. We request you will order the Prisoners to Frederick Town under a sufficient Guard. Whenever the Court sits, the Reason you mention we think sufficient for the Detention of the Company of select Militia of your County.

By June 30, another person had been implicated, one John Parks, of Baltimore.⁸

A person of the name of John Parks of Baltimore has been charged as a considerable Accomplice in the intended Insurrection at Frederick upon the oath of Philip Replogle; He is now in Goal at Baltimore Town arrested on Suspicion and has petitioned for a speedy Trial. As your Commission is extended to all the Counties on the western Shore, and as it would be extremely inconvenient to have a special Court for him alone or his Trial delayed till the next General Court, we presume that you will order a Habeas Corpus to bring him before you at Frederick.

In the course of the month of June, on an unrecorded date, the very vital testimony of Christian Orendorff ⁹ was taken down:

about a fortnit ago Henry Newcomer of Washington County came to him in Shraftsburch ¹⁰ and called him out of his Father's House and

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

⁷ Lieutenant of Washington Co. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 492.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XLVII, 328-330. See also Julia A. Drake and James R. Orendorff, *From Mill Wheel to Plowshare* (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1938), where Orendorff is identified as a former prisoner of the British from 1776 to 1780. He returned to the American Army as a Captain and was present at Yorktown.

¹⁰ Sharpsburg?

asked what he thought of these Times, answered the Times were very bad & precarious, he then asked if he thought the King would over-come this Country answered he thought he might. I'm sure he will over-come the Country and Orendorff if you will keep it a secret I lead you into a Matter of great Importance—answered he would he said we have raised a Body of Men for the Service of the King and we thought proper to make applⁿ to you to go to N York for a Fleet, asked how many Men they had raised he said upwards of 6000—asked who was the Commanding officer of the Party, answered one Fritch of Fred. Town a Dutch Man dont know his Christian Name—ordered Orndorf to go to his House and he would shew him the Man went to his House and rode with him to Fred. Town but did not go to Fritch's House. Newcomer informed him Fritch would not see him in Town but would meet him ten Miles from Town—he met him and then took him aside and said he understood Orndorf was let in to a Matter that was carrying on now. Orndorf said to him I understand you are the commanding Officer—Fritch said he was and told Orndorf the Name of the Men in Virginia from whom he received Instructions to recruit but has forgot the name—asked why they pitched upon him; said because he had been in N. York so long they thought he was the fittest Person if he would undertake it—though they were not quite ready for a Thing of that sort. Orndorf desired him to get the Names of all the Officers which he promised to do—before they parted Fritch told him not to disclose what he had communicated Orndorf replied he would sooner sacrifice his Life than do it.

Orndorf told him to get ready as soon as he could and let him know it and he said he would & as soon as he was Orndorf should be informed of it—and then he said some of his Officers were so violent for it that he was afraid it would be made public—asked who they were he said one Kelly a Lawyer & an Irishman who lives in the mountains about twelve or fourteen miles from Fred. Town—had no further Conversation with Fritch.

After Orndorf rode four or five miles along the Main Road Newcomer said Orndorf you look so dead I'm afraid you ruin the Matter; answered not at all Sir—says keep it a Secret whatever you do, for we will soon give these Fellows a damn Threshing—said as we are not ready I must send my Boy up to the South Mountain and let them know We are not ready yet. Our Boys are so violent we can hardly keep them in—said he sent an Express last week to Lancaster to hush them a little while longer—he slapt Orndorf on the shoulder and said I am so glad as if I had £10000 we have got you Orndorf for they could not get one so proper for the Expedition as you are—said we have consulted your Father's Account as we knew him to be a violent Rebel—and then they parted and Newcomer went towards Hagers Town. Newcomer lives within five or six Miles of Hager's Town.

Two or three Days after Orndorf got Home Bleacher one of the Captains came to him and called him aside and said I understand you are let into a Secret that is going on now—answered he was—and said I sup-

pose you are one of the Officers. Bleacher said he was Orndorf asked him what Rank he was—he answered a Captain. Orndorf asked how many men he had recruited he said he had fifty men. Orndorf asked him to let him look at his Warr^t he said he had it not about him and made it a Rule not to carry it about him. Orndorf asked him to put it in his pocket and bring it to his House and shew it to him, he said he would—then Orndorf asked him how he managed to make known his Doings to those he wanted to join him he said he had applied to twenty that had refused him and asked Orndorf how he thought he must have felt after being refused—said to Orndorf you are acquainted with our Secrets and if you expose them you must abide by the Consequences. Orndorf asked how he thought they would do if he went & brought the Fleet to Georgetown for you have no arms Bleacher said they would mount on Horses and ride down there and receive their arms for the troops in the State would not hinder them—and further said he could take the Magazine in Fred. Town with their Men—and then they parted.

Orndorf was at one Tinkles (who lives nigh to Kelly) who told him Jacob Young was informed of the Matter—made answer and said why is Jacob Young informed of the Matter—he said he was—Orndorf said why Jacob Young will certainly expose the Matter for he is a Magistrate—he said he would not.

There seem to be no authentic records of the progress of this affair, other than the newspaper announcement of the conviction of some of the prisoners. The *Maryland Journal* of Baltimore announced on August 28, 1781, that "Casper Frietschie, Yost Blecker, and Peter Sueman," had been convicted and executed August 17, 1781. We have no record of the testimony of any of the accused, except in the case of John Parks of Baltimore. He had appealed to a number of prominent persons in an effort to obtain character witnesses, and his wife was very active in his behalf.¹¹ He was not taken to Frederick as planned, but was discharged on August 18, in Baltimore, giving a bond of a thousand pounds for good behavior.

The account of the trial, published in quotation marks, in Williams's ¹² *History of Frederick County*, is printed without source and no authority has been found. This account agrees with the statement in the *Maryland Journal*, but other details may or may not be trustworthy. In addition to the convicted Frietschie, Bleaker, and Sueman, the names of the other accused are given: Nicholas Andrews, John George Graves, Adam Graves, Henry

¹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 382, 413, 425-426.

¹² Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Frederick, 1910), I, 96-97.

Shell. All were convicted, we are told, but only three, Frietschie, Blecker and Sueman, were executed, the other having been pardoned. Henry Shell, according to a document quoted at length, but without source, agreed to enlist in the French Navy as a condition of his pardon.¹³ He must have enlisted instead in the American army, for on December 6 of the same year, he was involved in a court martial proceeding in Frederick, and referred to himself as a private, and to the fact that he was on guard duty.¹⁴ There is no mention in the Williams account of Parks, Tinkles, Kelly, or Newcomer.

It thus appears that the only account of this plot, and possibly the only important evidence in the trial, is to be found in the testimony of Christian Orendorff, the man who posed as a conspirator in order to get the evidence. The existence of a document about Frietschie among the Loyalist Papers in the Record Office in London, and transcribed for the New York Public Library, gives some support to the point in Orendorff's testimony referring to New York residence, provided the British record really refers to John Casper Frietschie instead of 'John Fritch' of the record. Mistakes of this kind are of course common, especially when there is question of an English-speaking clerk dealing with a non-English-speaking Pennsylvania German, as can be observed frequently in the early census records for Pennsylvania and Maryland. Assuming that Fritch was Frietschie, and that he was in New York in November, 1779, in a practically destitute state, he would be an excellent subject for a proposal such as the plot indicates had been made to him, namely that he return to his home and recruit Loyalist soldiers for the British. The rank of commanding officer, which he is said to have claimed, would not be unusual if he had been given such a responsibility, and if he was the agent through whom other local recruiting officers established their liaison with the British, a state of affairs suggested by Orendorff's testimony.

Frederick tradition vindicates him of the treason charge, explaining that he was a harness-maker, and that he had repaired harness for British officers in Frederick. Supposedly he was arrested for questioning, in order to get the names of spies of whom he would have learned through his customers. After the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 568.

charge was actually brought against him, and after he had been convicted,—all this happening within twenty-four hours, according to this inaccurate tradition, his wife rode all night to get a reprieve from General Washington, received it, but arrived just after the execution of her husband.¹⁵

There is no record of Mrs. Frietschie's having appealed to anyone on behalf of her husband. Since this was a civil trial, she would not in any case have appealed to Washington. Possibly there is confusion here with Mrs. Parks, who appealed to civil authorities on several occasions. Frietschie's occupation as a harness-maker seems also to have been based partly on tradition. His son, many years later, made gloves and other leather articles, but there is no evidence of his having inherited a business or learned his father's trade. That he was at one time engaged in a leather trade, is proven by the reference to the elder Frietschie in the Annapolis documents cited below, as a "skin-dresser." The writer once examined in Frederick a receipt in German script, undoubtedly authentic, given to an employer by Casper Frietschie for payment for himself and the use of his team for a day's work. The owner, who was recently approached for permission to re-examine this receipt, states that it has been mislaid and cannot be found. This receipt if available, would prove beyond question that Frietschie was also a carter or teamster, thus identifying him more closely with the Fritch of the *Loyalist Papers*, whose occupation was that of "carter." Briefly, the *Loyalist Papers* supply possible, but not positive corroboration for some of the meager details about the plot. If the identification is correct, they explain the reason for the choice of a leader, and this reason checks with evidence produced at the trial, and hitherto not corroborated. It is unfortunate that there are no further details about the scheme itself, which at times, from the evidence of Orendorff, sounds rather pretentious, but which, when examined closely, appears to be only a movement to get recruits for the British. We get the impression that Orendorff undoubtedly caught Frietschie and others in mischief of some kind, but it looks as if he may have exaggerated the magnitude of the plot in order to get credit for saving his country from perpetrators of high treason.

¹⁵ Part of this story is given in Williams, I, 97-98, but other details have been supplied from conversations with descendants of the Frietschies, some of whom have undocumented written accounts of the story, accounts probably committed to writing about the time of the Civil War.

To most people, the most interesting part about the tradition of the plot, is the story that the men were hanged, drawn, and quartered. Since the newspaper account mentioned only their conviction, and no details of the sentence, there has been considerable doubt as to whether the barbarous practice of hanging, drawing, and quartering, ever occurred except in the imaginations of tellers of the story. For this reason, some documents at Annapolis are of great importance. They tell us that such a sentence actually was given in these cases, but in each known case, it was reduced to hanging "until dead." The documents in question are a series of four orders of the governor to the sheriff of Frederick County,¹⁶ dated August 9, 1781. The four documents refer to seven men, the number given in the Williams account, and the names are also identical with those in this account. In the papers published in the *Archives of Maryland*, six names appear, those of Newcomer, Plecker (Bleaker), Frietschie, Kelly, Tinkles, and Parks. The Williams account lists only two of these, Frietschie and Plecker, but adds Sueman, Andrews, John Graves, Adam Graves, and Shell. Parks, as we have seen, was freed immediately. Williams says that three were executed, and the others pardoned. The *Maryland Journal* tends to corroborate this by mentioning the sentence as applying to only three, Frietschie, Plecker, and Sueman. The Executive Papers at Annapolis make it clear that on July 6, 1781, all seven men were sentenced, the seven listed by Williams. They were to be "drawn to the Gallows of Frederick Town and be hanged thereon, that they be cut down to the earth alive, and that their Entrails be taken out and burned while they are yet alive, that their Heads be cut off and their Bodies divided into four Parts and that their Heads and Quarters be placed where his Excellency the Governor shall appoint."

But the documents, after all these details, order commutation of the sentences. The sheriff was ordered to take them from prison on or before August 22, 1781, and "them safely convey to the Gallows in the County aforesaid the common Place of Execution of Malefactors . . . there . . . to hang by the Neck on

¹⁶ I am grateful to Messrs. M. L. Radoff, Archivist, and G. Skordas of the staff of the Hall of Records for assistance in finding these uncatalogued manuscripts. They are listed as Executive Papers, 1781.

the said gallows until they are dead, forbearing to execute any other Part of the said Sentence. . . .”

It thus appears that on July 6, 1781, seven men were sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; that on August 9, the sentence was commuted to hanging with the drawing and quartering forbidden; and that the revised sentences were to be executed on or before August 22. Finally, only three were actually hanged, as the *Maryland Journal* had indicated, on August 17, the three being Frietschie, Plecker, and Sueman. This leaves four unaccounted for after having been sentenced, Andrews, Shell, and the two Graves; Parks, who was discharged under bond on August 18, and three whose names do not appear in any copies of sentences now known, Tinkles, Kelly, and Newcomer.

We now know that the last of these, Newcomer, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine on July 6, the date on which the seven death sentences were given. Among the Executive Papers there is a document dated months later, on January 27, 1783. It is an order of the Governor and Council mentioning the sentence, and ordering Newcomer's fine reduced from £1000 to £50, since he had already served his sentence, and since his wife and eleven children were being reduced to a state of beggary. Of Tinkles and Kelly we have no word at all. They may or may not have been tried with the others on July 6, 1781, and have received comparatively light sentences as in the case of Newcomer, or they may have been discharged without trial, or immediately after a trial, as in the case of Parks.

The fate of the remaining four is most mysterious. One of them, Henry Shell, was said to have enlisted in the French Navy as a condition of his pardon,¹⁷ but until the archives at Annapolis were examined in this connection there was no evidence that letters purporting to testify to this were genuine, or even extant. It now appears from the Executive Papers,¹⁸ that on September 20 Shell signed a letter accepting the governor's pardon on condition that he enlist in the French Navy for the duration of the war.

¹⁷ Williams, I, 96-97. Williams, without citing his authority, states that the court consisted of Alexander Contee Hanson, Col. James Johnson and Upton Sheredine. The sentence was delivered by Judge Hanson, says this writer. A similar account is found in John T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Phila., 1882), I, 142-143, which doubtless was drawn upon by Williams. Scharf supplies no sources.

¹⁸ Executive Papers, 1781. Cf. Williams, I, 97.

Three days prior to the writing of this letter, on September 17, there were transmitted from Frederick to the Governor, "three Instruments of Writings Signed by Nicholas Andrews, George Graves, and Adam Graves,"¹⁹ the three unaccounted for as explained above. The covering letter said that they intended to "march" these men the next day or the day following. The letters described have not been found, but the covering letter gives the impression that the "three Instruments" were acceptances of pardon. If the conditions were the same as in the case of Shell, the letter becomes clear, for the men would have to be "marched" or somehow removed to a port for enlistment. This accounts for the four conspirators sentenced, but not hanged. We have no evidence of their embarkation, and in at least one case, that of Shell, there is reason to believe that he served in the American Army instead of the French Navy.

¹⁹ Hall of Records, "Red Book," no. 18, letter 122.

WILLIAM PINKNEY'S PUBLIC CAREER

1788-1796

By MAX P. ALLEN

I. ACTIVITIES IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, 1788-1792

Following the Annapolis Convention of 1788, William Pinkney returned to his law practice in Harford County.¹ It is quite unlikely that he had any part in the effort to provoke a controversy regarding Thomas Lloyd of Philadelphia, who was permitted to take notes in shorthand of the proceedings at Annapolis. It was claimed that although Lloyd had originally sympathized with the opponents of ratification, he had been "bought off" by the majority with the idea of preventing or delaying publication of the debates, which were supposed to reflect little credit on the tactics used to secure ratification.² As a matter of fact, within a reasonable time there appeared an advertisement that Lloyd's "Debates on Adoption in Maryland" would be published as soon as there were six hundred subscribers.³

The principal opposition to adoption of the Constitution in Maryland came from eleven men representing only three counties. In the October elections, five of these were returned to the House of Delegates,⁴ while the circumstances attending the canvass in Baltimore were such that Samuel Chase saw fit to contest the results.⁵ Anne Arundel County elected John F. Mercer and

¹ For an account of Pinkney's earlier activities, consult Max P. Allen, "William Pinkney's First Public Service," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIX (December, 1944), 277-292. Bibliographical comment has been confined largely to that article.

² *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), May 22, 1788.

³ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1788.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1788.

⁵ It had been a bitter battle between the "doctors and the lawyers," McHenry and Dr. John Coulter being credited with 635 and 622 votes, respectively, while Chase had 505 and David McMechen, 404. Chase and McMechen, who had been heralded as "Enemies to the New Federal Government," claimed that they had been the victims of disorderly proceedings. They petitioned the House of Dele-

Jeremiah T. Chase; Baltimore County, Thomas C. Deye and Charles Ridgely of William; and Harford County, William Pinkney. These gentlemen must have felt that their refusal to sign the Constitution at Annapolis met with the approval of their constituents.

When the legislature convened on Tuesday, November, 4, 1788, Pinkney was on hand, his first recorded vote being in favor of a meeting of the House of Delegates each day of the November session.⁶ The following day he was placed on a committee with McHenry and three others to investigate the petition of one Adam Fonerden praying for an exclusive right to make and sell a machine called a "card-teeth Cutter."⁷ Pinkney brought in his first committee report two weeks later.⁸ By the end of the session he had become an outstanding member, drawing many important committee assignments. This may be attributed largely to his ability and the zeal which always characterized his handling of responsibilities. It does not seem profitable to examine all of his legislative activities of this period, especially since so many of them had to do with bills which were local or special in nature. Instead it will be attempted to indicate his connection with only more fundamental affairs.

Much legislation affecting relations with the national government provoked little argument in Maryland, *e. g.*, the cession of a district ten miles square for the seat of the new capital.⁹ Those

gates to set aside the election, and the matter was given considerable attention all during the session. Pinkney, Mercer, J. T. Chase, Deye, and Ridgely consistently supported the claims of their erstwhile leader at the ratifying convention held the preceding April. Several witnesses were examined, one of whom admitted that he had "betted two beaver hats on the losers."

On December 13 Pinkney was made chairman of a committee to bring in a mode of handling controverted elections. Apparently the suit was dropped without a final decision being reached. On December 20, 1789, it was recorded that parties to the suit should pay the costs of issuing 188 summons, amounting to approximately £62. At the next session, it was decided that Dr. Coulter should pay his share of the costs, the vote being 31-15, Pinkney voting with the majority. Additional details may be had by consulting the following: *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 16 and 30, 1788; *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1788, pp. 4, 5, 15, 17, 18, 19, 44; *ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1789, Dec. 1 and Dec. 20; *ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1790, Dec. 16. The best secondary account is Bernard C. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), pp. 114-115.

⁶ *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1788, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1788, Ch. XL. Passed Dec. 23.

who had been so insistent on a Bill of Rights were gratified in 1789 by being able to ratify twelve proposed amendments, ten of which were added to the Constitution.¹⁰ Pinkney brought in a committee report in 1790, which passed 48 to 4, instructing Maryland's United States Senators to join with those of Virginia in securing sessions of Congress which were open to the public.¹¹ On the other hand, there was considerable opposition to acceding to another joint proposition sponsored by Virginia that these two states advance money for the construction of national public buildings. Virginia agreed to put up \$120,000, with Maryland's share fixed at \$72,000. Pinkney voted consistently against such an appropriation, but was in the minority.¹² Together with Plater and Ridgely, he triumphed momentarily in backing a resolution that the assumption of state debts was a "measure dangerous in consequences to the governments of the several states." However, five days later, the Federalists succeeded in getting this resolution rescinded by the narrow margin of 27 to 26.¹³

As Pinkney's prestige grew in the legislature, many of his old associates also moved up in the world, indicating that he must have been in a group that was unusually capable. J. T. Chase had already taken Alexander C. Hanson's place as judge in the general court, the latter having become chancellor of Maryland.¹⁴ Samuel Chase, freed of his financial burdens by the legislature,¹⁵ was beginning to accumulate offices faster than he could take care of them, so that the ire of the legislature was eventually aroused. He did, however, yield his place in the Maryland Senate, to which he was elected in 1791 (Pinkney being one of the senatorial electors),¹⁶ to succeed Thomas Johnson as chief justice of Maryland,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1789, Ch. VI. Passed Dec. 19.

¹¹ *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1790, Dec. 1. Two years later the Lower House was still trying "to procure the opening of the doors of the senate of the U. S." and expressing disappointment that one of Maryland's Senators had acted contrary to this idea. The Upper House, however, did not concur in the matter. See *ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1792, Dec. 22.

¹² *Ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1790, Nov. 17 and 18.

¹³ *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1790.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1789. Hanson held the position of chancellor until his death seventeen years later. The Pinkneys and the Hansons were personal, as well as political, enemies, according to Mrs. L. R. Carton, a great-great-granddaughter of Pinkney.

¹⁵ Allen, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIX, p. 285, note 42.

¹⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1791. McHenry and Charles Carroll of Carrollton would have been two of his colleagues if he had not resigned.

the latter becoming a federal judge.¹⁷ Plater was elected governor at the beginning of the November session, 1790, with Pinkney the first-named member of a House of Delegates committee to meet with a Senate committee to examine the ballots.¹⁸ The latter had now become prominent enough to be censured in one of the numerous letters which McHenry dispatched to Alexander Hamilton.

An opinion prevails in our House of Delegates that our constitution wants mending and Mercer, Pinkney and Craik are to lead in the business. They do not venture, I mean the two first, for the last is rather federal [,] to expose their true reason, though they have not been able to conceal it. I cannot tell how the project may terminate, but I like our constitution as it stands and trust the people, having heretofore found it a good one, will not easily be brought to any radical alterations.¹⁹

The same year President Washington asked McHenry for suggestions regarding the appointment of a federal district attorney for Maryland. The latter replied, among other things, that Luther Martin was the best qualified for it but the last who deserved it, on account of his politics. He suggested that Washington speak to William Paca about the necessity of leading men removing misapprehension concerning the laws. It was McHenry's idea to "lead Paca from Mercer, who is, if possible, more desperately mischievous, than when the open, decided, and declared enemy of the constitution."²⁰

It is likely that no ordinary business of a state legislator would attract much attention outside his capital city, not to mention the country generally, regardless of his competency or persistency. It

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1791.

¹⁸ *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1791, Nov. 14. Pinkney missed most of the first week of this session and the first half of December.

¹⁹ McHenry to Hamilton, n. p., Nov. 19, 1791, in Steiner, *James McHenry*, pp. 132-133. Soon after this Pinkney brought in a long committee report growing out of a memorial of citizens of Pennsylvania and New Jersey that they had been discriminated against by the paper emission of 1780. It is a comprehensive discussion which reached the conclusion that there had been no discrimination. See *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1791, Nov. 25.

²⁰ McHenry to Washington, Baltimore, Aug. 16, 1792, in Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Mercer was seeking re-election to Congress. He rather rivaled Chase in being continually involved in some kind of acrimonious dispute. His opponent this time was Major David Ross, whose pen was very active in behalf of a Quaker named John Thomas who was campaigning against Mercer. Mercer won, however, as did William Vans Murray and Samuel Smith, both of whom were well started on prominent careers. See the *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, and Nov. 1, 1792, and April 18, 1793.

seems desirable, therefore, to dwell at some length on two topics which brought Pinkney very much into the limelight and which even today have not passed into oblivion.

II. PINKNEY AND SLAVERY

Pinkney's fame as an orator rests largely on his speeches made before the Supreme Court²¹ and in the United States Senate.²² His reply to Rufus King of New York on the admission of Missouri to the Union was delivered February 15, 1820.²³ At the time many persons looked upon Pinkney merely as an eloquent advocate of Southern views on slavery. As a matter of fact, he did not defend slavery but rather the right of Missouri to enter the Union without an infringement on her sovereignty which would make her inferior to the other states, a point of view on constitutional law which is accepted today. Under the circumstances, therefore, he could not be accused of abandoning the liberal position he took as a young legislator regarding Quakers, Catholics, Jews, and Negroes.

During his very first week in the legislature, Pinkney was placed on a committee which included Mercer, Ridgely, Potts, and Forrest, to make such changes in the Maryland Declaration of Rights and Constitution as would give religious toleration.²⁴ Having already established a reputation for freedom from bigotry, it was not surprising to find him the following month unsuccessfully supporting a recent memorial of the Society of Quakers. This group waged a long campaign to bring about the repeal of a

²¹ Albert J. Beveridge has done much to rehabilitate Pinkney's reputation as one of the outstanding constitutional lawyers of his day. Consult his *Life of John Marshall*, IV (Boston, 1919), 133 ff. The text of Pinkney's famous speech in the case of the *Nereide* is available in Henry Wheaton, *Some Account of the Life, Writings and Speeches of William Pinkney* (New York, 1826), pp. 455-516.

Justice Joseph Story listed twenty-four men as being leading orators in the period 1800 to 1840. He included two Marylanders: Luther Martin and William Pinkney. See Story to A. Hayward, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Jan. 4, 1840, in William W. Story, ed., *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, II (Boston, 1851), 325.

²² Pinkney presented his credentials on January 4, 1820, as the successor of Alexander C. Hanson, lately deceased, the son of Chancellor A. C. Hanson. See *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 54. For a speech made about five years earlier in the House of Representatives on the treaty-making power of Congress, consult Reverend William Pinkney, *Life of William Pinkney* (New York, 1853), pp. 337-361.

²³ Most of this is published in *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 390-418. A similar rendition is given in Pinkney, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-337.

²⁴ *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1788, p. 8.

law which forbade manumission of slaves by last will and testament.²⁵ Eventually Pinkney joined the majority in voting for postponement of the question until the eighth day of the next session.²⁶ During the course of this action he made a speech which Mathew Carey considered worthy of publication in that rather curious periodical which he edited at Philadelphia.²⁷ Wheaton's description of the speech is interesting, especially since he heard so many of Pinkney's best efforts. He was of the opinion that it breathed "all the fire of youth and a generous nature, although it . . . [might] not perhaps be thought to give any pledge of those great powers of eloquence and reasoning which he afterwards displayed."²⁸ When the matter of legalizing manumission by testament came up the following year, Pinkney spoke again. At the time of the exchange with King in 1820, mentioned above, he declared that the 1789 performance "was much better than the first speech and for a young man . . . well enough."²⁹ This was putting it modestly, as is demonstrated by the resumé of it which follows.

Pinkney began by admitting that although his past sentiments had been disregarded, he nevertheless would once more lend his "feeble efforts" to so important a cause of freedom.³⁰ As obstacles to his efforts he noted "mistaken ideas of interest, the deep-rooted prejudices which education has fostered and habit matured, the general hereditary contempt for those who are the objects of these provisions, the common dread of innovation, and above all, a recent defeat." He marveled at the technicalities surrounding manumission. "The door to freedom . . . [was] fenced about with such barbarous caution, that a stranger would be naturally led to believe that our statesmen considered the existence of its opposite among us as the *sine qua non* of our prosperity." He objected to placing all the blame on England for slavery being established in America. "*They* strewed around the

²⁵ Luther Martin had tried to limit or ban the slave trade at Philadelphia in 1787. Although Frederick Douglass is probably the best known of Maryland Negroes in the nineteenth century, the outstanding one at this time was Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), whose almanac was commended by McHenry in 1791. See Steiner, *James McHenry*, p. 127.

²⁶ *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1788, p. 49.

²⁷ *American Museum: or Universal Magazine*, VI (1789), 74 ff.

²⁸ Wheaton, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁹ Quoted from *ibid.*

³⁰ The more or less direct quotations given here are taken from *ibid.*, pp. 8-23.

seeds of slavery; *we* cherish and sustain the growth. *They* introduced the system; *we* enlarge, invigorate, and confirm it." As consequences of the present policy he predicted the destruction of reverence for liberty and interference with production in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. He quoted Montesquieu to the effect that although civil liberty may be tolerable where there is political slavery, in a democracy it is contrary to the spirit of the constitution.³¹

Pinkney then proceeded to offer some answers to objections which might be raised to the bill. He denied that freedmen would be tools of usurpation, pointing out that Sulla could retire unmolested because of the fidelity of the slaves he had freed. "When we see freed-men scrupulously faithful to a lawless abandoned villain, from whom they received their liberty, can we suppose that they will reward the like bounty of a free government with the turbulence of faction, or the seditious plots of treason!"³² Manumission was easier in India than in Maryland. He considered it lamentable for Maryland to be surpassed by Eastern despots in humanity and justice. Then he dealt with the belief of some that nature had "black-balled" Negroes out of society. He insisted that Negroes are merely men with a different complexion and features, the beauty of which is largely a matter of taste. Their ignorance and vices were "solely the result of situation, and therefore no evidence of their inferiority." Like neglected flowers they proved only "the imbecility of human nature unassisted and oppressed."

He presented many more arguments which will not be reproduced here except in barest outline. Thus, he denied that Negroes were lazier than white men. He pointed out that creditors could be safeguarded against losses which might accrue from manumis-

³¹ It would seem rather remarkable for this youthful Maryland attorney to be familiar with Montesquieu and Rousseau. Professor Albert Schinz of the University of Pennsylvania discussed eighteenth century philosophers before the Graduate History Club of Indiana University on November 26, 1941. He pointed out that many scholars believe that the French Revolution gave the philosophers popular renown, rather than that their writings popularized the ideas which culminated in the Revolution. He reported that his own research indicated that only the intelligentsia had copies of such books as Rousseau's *Social Contract*.

³² Pinkney again quotes Rousseau: "Nothing more assimilates a man to a beast than living among freemen, himself a slave. Such people as these are the natural enemies of society, and their numbers must be dangerous." Quoted in Wheaton, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

sion, while slaves over fifty years of age need not be set free at all unless adequate indemnities be set up to prevent their becoming a public charge. He showed little sympathy for heirs who might be impoverished, glorying "in the cause of their distress as . . . [he] wished them a more honest patrimony." He contrasted the policy of Sparta and Athens toward slavery, as well as Maryland and Pennsylvania,³³ to prove that kindness need not lead to turbulence. Then came his peroration:

You are not asked to abolish slavery but merely to set aside a tyrannical act of an earlier legislature forbidding manumission by last will. Often reforms cost public expenditures; this does not, yet many will be made happy.

Will you, then, whose councils the breath of freedom has heretofore inspired; whose citizens have been led by Providence to conquests as glorious as unexpected, in the sacred cause of human nature; whose government is founded on the never-mouldering basis of equal rights; will you, I say, behold this wanton abuse of legislative authority; this shameful disregard of every moral and religious obligation; this flagrant act of strained and unprovoked cruelty, and not attempt redress when redress is so easy to be effected.³⁴

The results of this magnificent effort were trifling. The legislature voted to continue the act of 1752 until the end of the following session.³⁵ Being absent from November 6 to 17 at the 1790 session, Pinkney was not placed on the committee appointed November 10 to reconsider manumission by testament. However, he was selected to deliver to the Senate the bill which finally passed the House of Delegates largely as a result of his activities during the past three years.³⁶ The Senate accepted the measure in the form advocated by Pinkney.³⁷ Section 2 repealed old laws forbidding manumission, while the third section made manumis-

³³ Benjamin Franklin was president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes. There was a similar society in Maryland, which had many prominent members, including Samuel Chase, Martin, and Sterett (but not Pinkney). See the *Maryland Gazette; or, the Baltimore Advertiser*, Nov. 27 and Dec. 15, 1789.

³⁴ Wheaton, *op. cit.*, p. 23. For a favorable comment on this speech in the United States Senate in 1852, see *Works of Charles Sumner*, III (Boston, 1875), 119.

³⁵ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1789, Ch. LXI. Passed Dec. 25. For Pinkney's efforts consult *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1789, Nov. 15, Nov. 17, Dec. 8, and Dec. 22. He did not vote on the bill finally passed in the House of Delegates on Dec. 24, which merely postponed action.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1790.

³⁷ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1790, Ch. IX. Passed Dec. 14.

sion legal if it were not to the prejudice of creditors and if the slave were not over fifty years of age. Section 5 set a penalty of £300 for transporting free Negroes out of the State. The last section contained humane provisions for old or disabled slaves.

But Pinkney was far from being an abolitionist at this time. The following year he brought in a committee report bitterly condemning the memorials of the Quakers for making applications which "instead of conducing to ameliorate the situation of those whose cause they advocate, have an effect unfortunately the reverse, by tending to destroy the spirit of acquiescence among our slaves, by which alone their happiness can be secured, and to inspire them with regret and anxiety for evils that do not admit a remedy." Pinkney voted with the majority which accepted this report, the vote being 45 to 21.³⁸ Consideration was then given to a complaint of the Dorseys regarding the Maryland Society for Promoting Abolition. Pinkney was again one of a large majority which thought that the Society had "acted badly." However, he helped defeat by a margin of only two votes a motion declaring that the organization was unnecessary, oppressive, and subversive.³⁹ It was the final judgment of 48 members (including Pinkney) that the abolitionists had conducted themselves in a "most uncandid, unjustifiable, and oppressive manner, and their conduct . . . [could] not be justified upon any principle by which good citizens ought to be actuated."⁴⁰

III. THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1790

The most important public question of the day which affected Pinkney at all vitally had to do with the election of Congressmen, Maryland's original quota being six. It was suggested in 1788 that the State be divided into two districts, with the Western Shore returning four members to the House of Representatives and the Eastern Shore two. Instead, the State was divided into six districts, although electors were to be entitled to vote for all six members rather than just one.⁴¹ Pinkney was one of a minority of twenty-four who voted against requiring a candidate to stand

³⁸ *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1791, Nov. 21 and 23.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21.

⁴⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1791.

⁴¹ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1788, Ch. X. Passed Dec. 22.

in his home district.⁴² He helped defeat an amendment requiring a residence of twelve months in the district prior to the election. Failing in his effort to restrict the measure's operation to two years, he nevertheless voted for it as passed.⁴³

At the next session, he was placed on a committee of seven to formulate another bill on the subject. As reported it contained no residence requirements within a district as a prerequisite to holding office. Thus a candidate might conceivably seek election in more than one district. If returned the winner in two districts he was given thirty days to inform the governor and executive council which district he preferred to represent, a new election then being necessary in the other. This rather peculiar measure was rejected in the Senate.⁴⁵ A similar measure also failed of passage in the 1790 House of Delegates. Instead, the qualifications were increased by requiring a candidate to have resided in the district for twelve months prior to the election.⁴⁶

With such maneuvering in the background, the Congressional election of 1790 proved especially interesting. On September 25, William Harwood, for many years clerk of the House of Delegates, presided at a kind of convention at Annapolis which prepared a Congressional "slate" for the consideration of the voters, the announced purpose being a desire to balance the representation in the State. It was arranged as follows: 1st district—Michael J. Stone; 2nd district—James Tilghman of James; 3rd district—Benjamin Contee; 4th district—George Gale; 5th district—Samuel Sterett; 6th district—Daniel Carroll.⁴⁷ Pinkney and five others also entered the race, although little information is available regarding the campaign. It will be observed, however,

⁴² *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1788, Dec. 3. A week later Pinkney also voted with a minority which sought to restrict each elector's vote to his own district.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1789, Dec. 2 and 3.

⁴⁵ *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1789, Dec. 18.

⁴⁶ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1790, Ch. XVI. Passed Dec. 10. Pinkney was absent this session from Nov. 20 to Dec. 8, so he was not present when the bill passed the House of Delegates on Nov. 24.

⁴⁷ *Maryland Gazette; or, the Baltimore Advertiser*, Sept. 28, 1790. The third district was comprised of Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, and Prince George's County; the fourth included Harford County, Baltimore, and Baltimore County. *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1788, Ch. X. Passed Dec. 22. Pinkney had lived practically all of his life in the Third but was, of course, a resident of the Fourth district in 1790.

that Sterett was the lone "slate" candidate to be victorious, the successful aspirants and the votes they received being as follows: ⁴⁸

Samuel Sterett	16,420
William Pinkney	10,435
Joshua Seney	9,887
William Vans Murray	9,647
Philip Key	9,640
Upton Sheridine	9,387

It will be recalled that voting was on a state-wide basis, indicating that Pinkney probably could have been elected in every district except Sterett's. Apparently he had misjudged his popularity, thereby accounting for his opposing Contee in the third district rather than Gale in the fourth.

A few days after the election Pinkney and the other five just mentioned were declared "duly elected Representatives of . . . [the] State in the Congress of the United States." However, Governor Howard and John Kilty gave notice that they planned to "enter on the proceedings, their dissent to the above decision." ⁴⁹ Accordingly, on November 5, the Governor delivered a brief argument to the Council showing that it was contrary to the Act of 1788 for a man to represent any district except the one in which he resided. Pinkney's reply has not been preserved, although he presumably took the position that a State could not add to the constitutional qualifications of a national officer. On November 8, John Kilty replied at length to Pinkney's contentions but apparently to no effect. Almost a year later Pinkney resigned of his own volition, without ever having actually attended a session of Congress, although by so doing he precipitated quite a controversy. ⁵⁰ For matters which would seem trivial today

⁴⁸ *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1790. Two years previously Sterett had been badly beaten by both James McHenry and John Coulter when Baltimore elected delegates to the Annapolis ratifying convention, according to Steiner, "Maryland's Adoption of the Constitution," *American Historical Review*, V (Oct., 1899), 43. So it is rather difficult to explain this remarkable showing of an Anti-Federalist.

⁴⁹ Proceedings of the Executive Council, Nov. 2, 1790. For discussion of the prerogatives of this body, consult the next section of this chapter. As an aftermath of this incident the Maryland Constitution was amended to bar federal officeholders from holding state offices. See *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1791, Ch. LXXX and *ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1792, Ch. XXII. (It took two years to amend the constitution. Pinkney voted against such a law on Dec. 10, 1790.)

⁵⁰ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., Nov. 5 and Nov. 8, 1790; *ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1791, Oct. 13, 1791. The resignation was dated Sept. 26, 1791, the Governor ordering an election to fill the vacancy on Oct. 13.

caused great concern then because of the lack of precedent to take care of an unusual situation.

On November 9, 1791, Speaker Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut⁵¹ laid a communication before the House from Governor Howard of Maryland. Without mentioning the dispute over eligibility, the latter merely stated that Congressman William Pinkney had submitted his resignation on September 26 to the governor and the executive council. So a writ of election had been issued to fill the vacancy and John Francis Mercer had been duly elected in accordance with the laws of Maryland.⁵² Howard's letter was referred to the committee on Contested Elections, appointed on October 26, despite some objection as to the legality of such a procedure.⁵³

There is no record of the deliberations of this committee, but on Monday, November 21, its report recognizing the election of Mercer was referred to a committee of the whole house.⁵⁴ The following day a rather lengthy debate ensued on accepting the report. Giles of Virginia pointed out that in the British House of Commons it was impossible to resign; he also thought it improper for a governor to be permitted to declare that there was a vacancy and then fill it, despite Seney's defense of the legality of Maryland's action.⁵⁵ Smith of South Carolina rather objected to the report, but thought it the best way to handle the matter—if properly discussed. He thought this procedure preferable to the British practice of appointing members to fictitious offices, thereby automatically disqualifying them for membership in the Commons.⁵⁶ Williamson of North Carolina and Gerry of Massachusetts were of the opinion that since Senators could resign,

⁵¹ He had been chosen two weeks previously. He was the brother of John Trumbull, soon to be Jay's secretary in England and later a member of the Spoliation Commission to which Pinkney also belonged.

⁵² *Annals of Congress*, 2 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 166 and 209. Mercer notified the citizens of Anne Arundel County that he was a candidate to succeed Pinkney on Oct. 4, 1791. See *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1791.

⁵³ Samuel Livermore of New Hampshire had taken the position that it was improper to delegate to a committee a constitutional prerogative of the House. He was now a member of the committee, along with William B. Giles of Virginia, Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, Benjamin Bourne of Rhode Island, James Hillhouse of Connecticut, and John Steele of North Carolina. See *Annals of Congress*, 2 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 145.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205. It will be recalled that Seney had been elected to Congress at the same time Pinkney was.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

Representatives should be able to do so likewise. Gerry also brought out the fact that the King had organized the Commons to control the Lords; hence resignations had been prohibited to keep from weakening that body and to save the King the expense of a new election.⁵⁷ William Vans Murray agreed with his colleagues from Maryland that the report should be accepted, "both on account of propriety and conveniency." He considered that it was impracticable to seek English precedents where interpretation of the Constitution was involved. The debate ended with Sedgwick of Massachusetts still expressing concern over giving much authority to state executives in regard to vacancies.⁵⁸ On Wednesday further attention was given the matter in committee of the whole. The report in slightly different form was finally accepted. Having reviewed the salient facts in the case, the committee reached this conclusion:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that John Francis Mercer is entitled to take a seat in the House as one of the Representatives for the State of Maryland, instead of William Pinkney.⁵⁹

Thus in a period of slightly more than two years, Chase's obscure young follower at Annapolis had made speeches in the Maryland legislature which had attracted rather wide attention and he had been the principal in an incident which occupied the attention of some of the outstanding men in the United States for several days. He was to render several more years of service at home before embarking on a national career in 1796 which continued almost without interruption until his death in 1822.

IV. VARIED SERVICES, 1792-1796

After serving in the legislature for four years, Pinkney apparently did not seek re-election. At any rate his name did not appear in the roster of members elected to the 1792 House of Delegates.⁶⁰ The following month, however, along with the announcement that Thomas Sim Lee had again been chosen gov-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁶⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 18, 1792. Pinkney apparently moved to Annapolis during 1792.

ernor, appeared the statement that the executive council would consist of James Brice, John Kilty, Henry Ridgeley, John Davidson, and William Pinkney.⁶¹ A few comments now seem in order regarding Maryland's governmental machinery.

The constitution of 1776 provided that annually, on the second Tuesday of November, the legislature by joint ballot should elect "five of the most sensible, discreet, and experienced men" to be a council for the governor. They had to be over twenty-five years of age, residents of the State for more than three years, and possessed of a freehold valued at more than £1,000. Three of these were to constitute a quorum to conduct such business as affix the great seal to laws, commissions, and grants; authorize payments by the state treasurer; order proclamations by the governor; make official election certifications; and hear petitions for clemency.⁶²

Several State officers were paid salaries fixed by the legislature in 1785, but most of them were on the civil list.⁶³ Usually quite a struggle developed each year over the enactment of the civil list, between friends and enemies of a particular officer. The pay ranged from £1,000 for the governor down to eighteen shillings, nine pence *per diem* for members of the legislature. The latter were penalized twenty shillings for each day missed without adequate cause.⁶⁴ The chancellor (who at this time was the elder A. C. Hanson) received £650, while £600 went to the chief judge of the general court (a position held successively by William Paca, R. H. Harrison, Thomas Johnson, Samuel Chase, Robert Goldsborough, and J. T. Chase), £250 to the clerk of the executive council, and £150 to members of the council.⁶⁵ Pinkney's younger brother, Ninian, held a series of clerkships in the early 1790's, becoming clerk of the council about the time the elder

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1792. According to the Proceedings of the Executive Council for 1792, the governor was elected on Nov. 12 and the council the following day. Governor Plater, who had presided at the Annapolis Convention of 1788, died early in 1792, so Lee had served only about eight months. See *Maryland Gazette*, Feb. 16, 1792.

⁶² See sections 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36 in Francis N. Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions . . .*, III (Washington, 1909), 1695-1697.

⁶³ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1785, Chs. XXVII and XXVIII.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1787, Ch. V. The penalty was raised to six dollars per day in 1794. See *ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1794, Ch. XL. Passed Dec. 26.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. Sess., 1791, Chs. LI and LXXIV. Passed Dec. 27 and Dec. 30, respectively.

brother's services came to an end in 1795.⁶⁶ Ninian is reputed to have acted in this capacity for about thirty years through thirteen administrations.⁶⁷

During the first year Pinkney served on the council, he missed fifty-five of the one hundred twenty meetings, largely because of his extensive law practice.⁶⁸ So he could scarcely have played a prominent part in any consideration given to the requests of the refugees from Santo Domingo⁶⁹ or the problems which resulted from Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, when Lee and the five members of the council were re-elected, Pinkney was the first-named counsellor (instead of the last, as had been the case the preceding year), signifying that he was president of the group. In case anything happened to Lee, he would act as governor until a successor had been elected.⁷¹

After becoming presiding officer, Pinkney attended the meetings of the council with greater regularity than in the preceding year. In addition to the duties mentioned above, the counsellors also naturalized aliens, released purchasers of confiscated lands from their contracts, received notices of violations of the neutrality laws by French privateers, and communicated with consular representatives of European nations. Pinkney continued to

⁶⁶ Samuel Chase recommended Ninian to McHenry's approbation in 1794 for the position of clerk of the Maryland Senate. See Chase to McHenry, Baltimore, Nov. 2, 1794, in Steiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154. The following year McHenry made this rather peculiar recommendation of Chase for a Federal judgeship, which he received in 1796: "Chase and I are on neither good nor bad terms, neither friends nor enemies. To profound knowledge, he adds a valuable stock of political science and information." McHenry to Washington, n. p., June 14, 1795, in *ibid.*, p. 159.

⁶⁷ Rosamond R. Beirne and Edith R. Bevan, *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 41.

⁶⁸ The material in this section is based principally on the Proceedings of the Executive Council for the years 1792 to 1795, preserved in excellent condition at the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁶⁹ The council records practically ignore the refugees, although they were mentioned frequently in contemporary newspapers. McHenry solicited subscriptions at Baltimore for their relief in the summer of 1793. See Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 142. The legislature appropriated \$500 for them. See *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1793. Some of the pertinent correspondence of Governor Lee and the French consul at Baltimore may be found in Box 90 of the John T. Scharf MSS., in the custody of the Maryland Historical Society.

⁷⁰ On Sept. 5 Annapolis citizens had a meeting, presided over by Chancellor Hanson, which adopted resolutions praising Washington's policy. The latter made a gracious acknowledgment of this vote of approval. See *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1793.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1793. According to the Proceedings of the Executive Council, this election took place on Nov. 15.

act as president during Governor John H. Stone's first term. The personnel of the council had changed slightly, John Kilty having resigned to become clerk of the council. He was succeeded by Christopher Richmond, the latter giving way in turn to William Kilty.⁷²

During his last year on the council, Pinkney was also mayor of Annapolis, a fact which apparently previous biographers have missed or ignored. He probably served from September 30, 1794, to September 29, 1795. At any rate, there is evidence that these are the approximate dates. Thus, on October 24, 1794, the Christopher Richmond mentioned above "appeared, and after qualifying according to Law before William Pinkney Esquire [,] mayor of the City Annapolis [,] took his seat at the Board."⁷³ There are scattered references to Pinkney in the Proceedings of the Common Council of Annapolis.⁷⁴ He was succeeded in office by Allen Quynn.

In October, 1795, Anne Arundel County returned to the House of Delegates Pinkney, John G. Worthington, Horatio Ridout, and Edward Hall.⁷⁵ Pinkney first put in an appearance on November 9, six days after the session began.⁷⁶ Much attention was given the operations of the Patowmack Company, organized in 1785 with the idea of connecting the Potomac and Ohio rivers with a canal.⁷⁷ George Washington was the first president of the corporation and retained a livly interest in all efforts to improve the navigation of the Potomac and James rivers.⁷⁸ Pinkney voted

⁷² *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 20, 1794. Although elected on Nov. 18, Pinkney was not sworn in until Nov. 21.

⁷³ Proceedings of the Executive Council, Oct. 24, 1794. Richmond had been elected on Oct. 6. For another reference to Pinkney's mayoralty, consult Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City. A History of Annapolis, in Maryland* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 14.

⁷⁴ These rough minutes are bound in vol. XIII of the Records of Annapolis, which have been described by Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Maryland Archivist, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (March, 1940), 74-78.

⁷⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 15, 1795.

⁷⁶ *Votes and Proceedings*, Nov. Sess., 1795, Nov. 9. James Brice succeeded him as president of the council.

⁷⁷ Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Towpaths; the Story of the American Canal Era* (New York, 1926), pp. 10-12.

⁷⁸ Washington to Tobias Lear, Philadelphia, Dec. 21, 1794, in Jared Sparks, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, XI (Boston, 1836), pp. 6-8. Washington also displayed concern over the establishment of a national university, toward the endowment of which he proposed to leave fifty shares of stock in the Patowmack Company. See Washington to the Commissioners of the Federal District, Philadelphia, Jan. 28, 1795, in *ibid.*, pp. 14-16; Washington to Jefferson, Philadelphia, March 15, 1795, in *ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

consistently for bills advancing the interests of the Patowmack Company and for another measure whose purpose was to give publicity to a prospective canal between Chesapeake bay and the Delaware river.⁷⁹ Further opportunity to have official relations with men who played such a prominent part in the early United States history was provided by a resolution which nominated Pinkney, William Cooke, and Philip B. Key (all outstanding lawyers of the time) to serve as commissioners to settle a boundary dispute with Virginia. Eventually, however, it became necessary to substitute Charles Carroll of Carrollton and J. T. Chase for Pinkney and Key.⁸⁰

In what turned out to be Pinkney's last session as a member of the House of Delegates he capitalized fully on an opportunity which presented itself to make a favorable impression on President Washington. In the latter part of November, 1795, the following declaration was adopted:

Resolved unanimously, that the General Assembly of Maryland, impressed with the liveliest sense of the important and disinterested services rendered to his country by the President of the United States; convinced that the prosperity of every free government is promoted by the existence of rational confidence between the people and their trustees, and is injured by misplaced suspicion and ill-founded jealousy; considering that public virtue receives its best reward in the approving voice of a grateful people, and that, when this reward is denied to it, the noblest incentive to great and honorable actions, to generous zeal and magnanimous perseverance, is destroyed; observing, with deep concern, a series of efforts, by indirect insinuation, or open invective, to detach from the first magistrate of the Union the well-earned confidence of his fellow citizens; think it their duty to declare, and they do hereby declare, their unabated reliance on the *integrity, judgment, and patriotism* of the President of the United States.⁸¹

John E. Howard, soon to be elected United States Senator, and Governor Stone immediately sent copies of this declaration to President Washington, who replied with his usual graciousness. It seems proper to quote one of his letters almost in full.

⁷⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 31, 1795.

⁸⁰ *Laws of Maryland*, Nov. Sess., 1795. (Resolutions were not numbered, but merely listed at the end of the acts passed.) In 1794, Chancellor Hanson, Chief Justice Chase, Pinkney, and James Tilghman of Queen Anne's County, had been appointed by the legislature to draw a complete code of testamentary laws. Finally the job fell to Hanson alone, with a guarantee of "a liberal and competent allowance for his time." His recommendations were printed Feb. 14, 1797.

⁸¹ Sparks, *Writings of George Washington*, XI, p. 98.

By Thursday's post I was favored with your letter of the 27th ultimo, enclosing a Declaration of the General Assembly of Maryland. At any time the expression of such a sentiment would have been considered as highly honorable and flattering. At the present, when the voice of malignancy is so hightoned, and no attempts are left unessayed to destroy all confidence in the constituted authorities of this country, it is peculiarly grateful to my sensibility; and, coming spontaneously, and with the unanimity it has done from so respectable a representation of the people, it adds weight as well as pleasure to the act.

I have long since resolved, for the present time at least, to let my calumniators proceed without any notice being taken of their invectives by myself, or by any others with my participation or knowledge. Their views, I dare say, are readily perceived by all the enlightened and well-disposed part of the community; and by the records of my administration, and not by the voice of faction, I expect to be acquitted or condemned hereafter.⁸²

James McHenry has furnished some details of the affair which doubtless influenced Washington the following year when he was considering the nomination of commissioners to be sent to London under Article VII of the Jay Treaty.

Mr. Pinkney, a man of real talents and genius, and a fascinating speaker, took charge of the *Declaration*. He originated it in the House, and supported it beautifully and irresistibly. His influence and conduct on the occasion overawed some restless spirits, and reached even into the Senate.⁸³

On his thirty-second birthday (March 17, 1796), Pinkney could have looked back with no little pride in his accomplishments. In the past eight years he had never been without some kind of public office. He was happily married to Ann Maria Rodgers and had three children—William, Emily, and Isabella.⁸⁴ For the past three years he had been one of the busiest attorneys in the State, being well on his way to becoming the head of the Maryland bar.

His acuteness, dexterity, and zeal in the transaction of business; his readiness, spirit, and vigour in debate; the beauty and richness of his

⁸² Washington to Stone, Philadelphia, Dec. 6, 1795, in *ibid.*, pp. 97-98. His letter to Howard may be found in *ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

⁸³ McHenry to Washington [Annapolis], Dec. 5, 1795, in *ibid.*, p. 98. McHenry was a member of the Maryland Senate at this time.

⁸⁴ For additional information regarding Mrs. Pinkney, consult Allen, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIX, pp. 281-282. The writer is indebted to Mrs. Carton for the names of the Pinkney children.

fluent eloquence, adorned with the finest imagery drawn from classical lore and vivid fancy; the manliness of his figure and the energy of his mien, united with a sonorous and flexible voice, and a general animation and graceful delivery, were the qualities by which he attained this elevated standing.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Wheaton, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Wheaton is quoting a Mr. Walsh. Some idea of Pinkney's activities as a lawyer may be obtained by consulting volumes 2 and 3 of Harris and McHenry's *Reports*. The principal cases of the time with annotations are rather readily accessible in William T. Brantly, ed., *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Court of Appeals of Maryland and in the High Court of Chancery*, III (Baltimore, 1883). For a case illustrating Pinkney's "abstruse learning upon the law of real property," read his arguments in *Martindale vs. Troop* (1793), given in *ibid.*, pp. 168-192. It is outside the scope of the present article to deal adequately with Pinkney's legal career. For additional references, see Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 281, note 16.

CONTEMPORARY REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF BALTIMORE

A frank account of the engagement at North Point in September, 1814, and blunt expressions regarding Madison's administration are contained in a confidential letter from United States Senator Robert Henry Goldsborough (1779-1836) to a member of his family, presumably to his wife. While the Senator's views are colored by his intense Federalist bias, he supplies a glimpse of what were the probable opinions of a considerable group of citizens.

Senator Henry was born at "Myrtle Grove," Talbot County, the son of Robert and Mary Trippe Goldsborough. He was a graduate of St. John's College, member of the Maryland House of Delegates, major of Maryland militia, U. S. Senator 1813-1819 and again 1835 till his death, and filled various other offices. He was known as the "Chesterfield of the Senate." His wife was Henrietta Maria Nicols. With his father, mother and sister he appears in the family group portrait by Charles Willson Peale now at "Myrtle Grove." The letter is owned by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goldsborough Henry of "Myrtle Grove."

Senate Chamber, Wednesday 21 Sept 1814

We arrived late last evening with tired horses and tired ourselves, after passing through Balte and all the Battle grounds, Encampments and positions both of the Enemy and our own People. The affair at Balte was more fortunate but as little glorious to our arms as that at Bladensburg. Our militia were completely defeated and routed. The British lost most men because we fired most and they depended upon the Bayonet. Our loss at Balte was 192 killed, wounded and captured—the British loss was between two and three hundred killed and wounded, and captured, but few of the latter. Gen^l Ross was certainly killed and the existence of Balte as certainly depended upon that shot. Adm^l Cockrane ordered his sailors and marines (under comm^d of Adm^l Cockburn) on board upon the fall of Ross, of course Gen^l Brooke, the next in comm^d to Ross was not able with the residue of the forces to prosecute the assault on the town or the storming the Amer^e Lines—and was obliged to go on board

also. The order for retreat almost occasioned a mutiny among the B. troops and they had to pacify them by making up some stories. Cockburn and Brooke were both anxious to proceed to Balto but Adm^l Cockrane upon the death of Ross w^d not permit it and withdrew that part of the forces he controuled. The 5th Reg^t and the 27th Reg^t behaved well. The 51st comm^ded by Col. Amy¹ fired into one of our own troops of Horse and killed and wounded 8 or 10 of them—they then took to their Heels and ran off. Ben Howard² commanded one of the most exposed companies in Battle and was as brave as his father at the Cowpens. Harper³ has immortalized himself by his coolness, his Bravery and his able advice in posting our Lines. He is eulogised and admir^d by all parties in Balto and was as cool in the midst of the action as in a private parlour. Maj^r Richard Heath⁴ was brave as usual and always exposed, two horses were shot under Him and he rec^d a Ball in his Head which only stunned him for a moment. A good deal of Bickering I find exists between the Winder and the Smith parties.⁵ Many blame Smith as Com^{dr} in chief for not giving them battle with all his force and also for permitting the British to retire without molestation. They went off at night, leaving their fires burning [...] some Cartridges, Powder, Slaughtered Cattle and Swords there are considered marks of hurry, but the Gen^{ls} dont think so, they suppose that on so dark a night an order given to retreat c^d not be obeyed with less marks of hurry. It is universally believed that an attempt to have entered Balto w^d inevitably have succeeded and I rejoice sincerely it was not made.

When I got to Bladensburg I there met with a gentl^e who rode over the battle ground with me and shewed me all the positions of the diff^t forces. I saw the graves of the Victims and my nose was offended by the inattention which was p^d to them. The Hogs root them up, and the waters wash them up, they are covering them up daily again. I cannot relate all the circumstances for believe me there is no circumstance I take pleasure in mentioning in all the affairs, but the lucky fall of Gen^l Ross, the going off of the fleet and the gallant dispositions of a few persons—all besides is sombre and unpleasant. The City of Washington once very beautiful to my eye is now an odious miserable object—it is the dreadful Monum^t of an unfortunate and illy timed war, and the unerring evidence of a weak, incompetent and disgraced administration. The message [of the President] skips over our misfortunes and dwells upon our little Victories. It calls for more and more money and certainly shows to the World that the affair of Impressment so much relied on and so perser-

¹ Lieut. Col. Henry Amey.

² Captain Benjamin Chew Howard, son of Colonel John Eager Howard; later Brigadier General of militia, member of Congress and Reporter of the United States Supreme Court.

³ Major General Robert Goodloe Harper, United States Senator 1815-1816, son-in-law of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and a leading Federalist of Maryland.

⁴ Later Lieut. Col. Richard Key Heath of the Fifth Regiment, Maryland Militia.

⁵ See "Controversy over the Command at Baltimore in the War of 1812," by Ralph Robinson, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIX, 177-198 (Sept., 1944).

veringly reiterated as the cause of war, is to be hushed up and winked over. Thus all our sufferings both national and Individual have been occasioned for causes that will never be taken into consideration in the Treaty of Peace.

As far as I can collect the Sentim^{ts} of the People of all parts and Parties in the U States, there appears but one opinion of the President & the Admⁿ and that is that they are totally incompetent to manage the affairs of the nation and that under them we cannot hope for better things. This is a prevailing sentim^t among the Democrats. Much is said of removing the Seat of Gov^t and I sh^d not be surprised if it goes (temporarily) to Balt^o or to Philad^a. We are all up heads this morning about a report of the fleet appearing again in the Patuxent. I know not if it is true, but we are all very inquisitive about it.

Great expectations are made that Mr. Herbert ⁶ will succeed to Congress ag^t Doc^t Kent ⁷ in P. Georges & Anne Arundel. If the good People will do their Duty I believe but few of Mr. Madisons friends will be called to act for them.

Send this letter to Dr. Dawson for the information of my select friends. I have not time to write more now. Tell them not to publish this or any of my Letters without my consent.

My Love to all

Yrs most affc'y

R. H. Goldsborough

⁶ John Carlyle Herbert (1775-1846) native of Alexandria, Va., Captain of Bladensburg Troop in the War of 1812, member of Congress 1815 to 1819.

⁷ Dr. Joseph Kent (1779-1837) native of Calvert County, Md., physician who settled near Bladensburg, member of Congress 1811-1815 and 1819-1826, Governor of Maryland 1826-1829.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By CHARLES BRANCH CLARK

(Continued from Vol. XXXIX, page 331, December, 1944)

The large number of arrests in Maryland and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus led to severe protests by members of the Maryland delegation in Congress. Senators Pearce and Kennedy both spoke on December 16, 1861, in favor of a resolution introduced by Lyman Trumbull, of Massachusetts, that inquired of the Secretary of State the reasons for certain arrests in Maryland and the legal authority therefor. Pearce reiterated his sentiments of the special session in July, stating that the arrests were not only unnecessary but also detrimental to the "purposes of those who desire to see the Union brought together again—an object of all others to me the most desirable if it be possible." If Congress shut its eyes and ears to complaints from Maryland against such outrages, the day seemed to Pearce not far distant when the "vital spirit of a republican government will be entirely gone from us."⁵⁸ Senator Kennedy insisted that Maryland's civil authorities were fully competent to vindicate, uphold, and maintain the dignity of the Constitution and laws of the land. As proof of this he pointed to the 30,000 majority loyal vote in the recent November, 1861, Maryland elections. He believed that the Administration was going "in the wrong direction, and crossing the path of the Constitution." There was no better evidence of this than that men had been arrested in Maryland "without sufficient cause."⁵⁹

In December, 1862, Henry May said that he wished to cast a late vote against the "bill which indemnifies executive tyrannies . . . which justifies arbitrary arrests. I wish also to vote against

⁵⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., Pt. 1, p. 94.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

the bill which mutilates the State of Virginia by admitting a portion of it as a new State into this Union." But because May was unable to state the accurate titles of the bills he desired to vote against, his vote was objected to and not recorded.⁶⁰ Two months later May introduced a resolution directing the Judiciary Committee to state under what authority General Schenck acted in Maryland in requiring an American flag to be displayed conspicuously at religious meetings. He said that Reverend John H. Dashiell had removed the flag from his Baltimore church, but had been arrested. May failed to secure a favorable reception for his resolution, although he tried valiantly from February 16 to the final day of Congress on March 3.⁶¹

Henry May, on February 18, 1863, returned to the attack on the bill to legalize the action of the Chief Executive for suspending the writ of habeas corpus. May called this "Executive tyranny" and asserted that only Congress could suspend the writ. He resented the malice many held toward him because he opposed the oppressions Maryland had been subjected to. He called Governor Bradford a "faithless governor, true only to the miserable influences that appointed him." He made it clear that he meant the influences of the Federal military organization that helped to elect Bradford in November, 1861. In Maryland, said May, the Negro was almost the only freeman. He could go his own way while his master was guarded even upon making social trips. "The present prostrate condition of Maryland, and the alienation of her people has been caused entirely by the lawless policy pursued by the Federal government and its unscrupulous agents."⁶²

May's speech was so bitter that even his colleagues refused to hear it silently. Leary pointed out the loyal stand May had assumed when elected to Congress in June, 1861; but since that time, said Leary, May had shown a persistent determination to throw hindrances in the path of the government in suppressing the rebellion. Leary denied that the people of Maryland were a subjugated people and said that the "high reputation" of Governor Bradford could not be injured by May's remarks. May had caused Maryland to be "dishonored and degraded," said Leary. Francis Thomas also denied that Maryland was oppressed.

⁶⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 37th Cong., Pt. 1, p. 75.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 1552.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 1073-1074.

"When? Where? By whom?" he asked.⁶³ Thomas spoke at length in an effort to make the "position of Maryland . . . hereafter better understood abroad." On February 19, May attempted to "make a personal explanation," and to "correct some personal misrepresentations," but the House refused to hear him. On the final vote on the indemnification bill, which carried 99 to 44, Calvert and Crisfield voted in the negative and Leary and Thomas in the affirmative. Webster and May did not vote.⁶⁴ The *Baltimore American* lauded Thomas and Leary for their speeches. It said that since they had gained a thorough "triumph for loyal men," it was "half inclined to overlook the cause which provoked these efforts." Citizens of the Fourth District were justly "provoked and mortified" because they were so completely misrepresented by Henry May. But, said the *Baltimore American*, May was "powerless" and "just as often as he comes into the lists in the services of Jefferson Davis he is destined to be unhorsed. Let him 'chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancies,' then, to the very end of his term; or if he can stand the mortifying disabilities incident to a false position his punishment will keep pace with his offences."⁶⁵

Senator Hicks in a long address on February 28, 1863, reviewed his record as Governor of Maryland and attempted to explain the inconsistencies of his policies. Hicks' speech showed how far his views had changed since 1861. He now expressed most emphatically his endorsement of the policies of the Administration, in Maryland, including the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the arrests and imprisonments which followed, and other measures deemed advisable by the Administration to check the secession strength of the State.⁶⁶ Senator Kennedy called Hicks severely to task for these sentiments, and declared that he saw a threat of the establishment of a despotism in the policies of the Administration. Kennedy inquired if Hicks approved the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1861 when the entire civil machinery of the State was yet in operation.⁶⁷ Hicks's reply was evasive. He declared he did not approve of all that Abraham Lincoln had done but, on

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Pt. 3, pp. 1080-1083.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 1479.

⁶⁵ February 23, 1863.

⁶⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 37th Cong., Pt. 2, p. 1371 *et seq.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1376.

the whole, he was glad that Lincoln was President and not someone else. He said he approved of the coercive measures used against the seceded states, and if the safety of the Union demanded it, he thought that "every rebel, North or South," should be put to death. Hicks's remarks found approval on the Republican side of the Senate, but members from the Border states criticized him severely.⁶⁸ Despite his statements, Hicks was not yet ready to go the full way with the radicals of the Senate on emancipation. He thought the issue should be subservient to the object of suppressing the rebellion. In this position he represented the majority feeling of his State. Hicks's career in the Senate was not a prominent one. He possessed little oratorical ability, and during the two years he served he was further handicapped by ill health.

Members of the Maryland delegation were on the alert when the expulsion of certain members of Congress was proposed. When, in January, 1862, the expulsion of Senator Jesse Bright of Indiana was under consideration, Senator Pearce took part in the debate. Bright was charged with disloyalty to the Federal government because of his vote for John C. Breckinridge in 1860, his opposition to the government's coercive measures, and for having addressed Jefferson Davis in a letter on March 1, 1861, as "My dear sir." Pearce protested against the latter charge, maintaining that the war had not been begun at the time of the letter and that courtesy should be employed in addressing Davis, whose courage "we regret and deplore," while "we recognize his many noble traits of character." There was no reason, said Pearce, for addressing Davis as "you rebel and traitor." Courtesy and chivalry demanded that one's direct foe be addressed in the "politest shape possible." Pearce could not understand why Charles Sumner considered this a "very serious question."⁶⁹ On the following day Senator Kennedy entered the debate. He stated that he still adhered to the principles of the Whig party, and thus stood in the Senate without political affiliation, except with Senator Garrett Davis of Kentucky. Both had supported Bell in 1860. Therefore, argued Kennedy, both he and Davis could, like Bright, be tried

⁶⁸ Senators Garrett Davis and Lazarus W. Powell of Kentucky, and John B. Henderson of Missouri led the attack on Hicks. *Ibid.*, pp. 1380-1384.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2nd Sess., 37 Cong., Pt. 1, p. 397.

for treason since Bell had entered into open affiliation with the rebels.

Reverdy Johnson defended Senator James Bayard of Delaware when he refused to take an oath which was required of senators. Johnson took it himself only because he was unwilling to have it conjectured, on any ground, however feeble, "that I was not loyal as he must be who takes that oath." He thought the oath wrong because it was provided for by an *ex post facto* law and disqualified a man from office without conviction of crime. Johnson also disagreed with Senator Sumner's contention that rebellious states were "out of the Union as states," saying that such an idea was "not only unconstitutional but most mischievous."⁷¹

On January 26 Johnson defended Senator Davis of Kentucky against expulsion because of a resolution Davis introduced censuring Lincoln. Johnson denied that Davis's resolution was treasonable; he too believed the Administration should be censured. In his "judgment, the ultra measures . . . of the government, that is to say the measures of destroying slavery in the States, of enforcing the confiscation laws, of distributing the lands among the loyal soldiers or among blacks, do more to keep alive the rebellion, than any one cause, or perhaps all causes combined."

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Benjamin G. Harris took a bold stand in discussing Schuyler Colfax's resolution to expel Alexander Long of Ohio for disloyal sentiments uttered on the House floor. Harris boldly avowed his gratification at the secession of the Southern states. He justified it fully, and rebuked the Democratic party for not coming up to his standard of political morality. He said:

Cannot a man protest against carrying on a war to the extermination of a whole race of people? Cannot a man get up and say, we do not admire your tactics; we would rather have peace than such a war. . . . I am a peace man, a radical peace man; and I am for peace by the recognition of the South, for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy; and I am for acquiescence in the doctrine of secession. (Sensation and laughter). . . . But sir, I am a slave holder, That is to say I was until Ben. Butler stole my slaves all away. (Laughter).

The South asked you to let her go in peace. But no, you said you would bring them into subjugation, That is not done yet, and God Almighty

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 589-597.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1st Sess., 38th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 290-294, 328-330.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 350.

grant that it never may be. I hope that you will never subjugate the South. . . . 'If this be treason, make the most of it!' I am as good a Union man as you are, but we differ as to the best means of preserving the Union. . . . Abraham Lincoln has proved himself unfit to be trusted an hour.⁷³

Following this speech, Elihu Washburne of Illinois offered a resolution to expel Harris. The resolution had a majority vote but not the two-thirds vote necessary for expulsion. Robert C. Schenck, a Representative from Ohio and recent commander of the Middle Department with headquarters in Baltimore, then offered a resolution severely censuring Harris, declaring that he was an unworthy member of the House. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 93 to 18.⁷⁴ Harris's colleagues, David, Creswell, Thomas, and Webster voted for both resolutions. Harris's speech created a sensation in Maryland as it had in Congress. It was forbidden publication in his District by the military officer in control.⁷⁵

Several miscellaneous matters caught the attention of the Maryland delegation. Senator Pearce opposed a bill on January 22, 1862, that was intended to authorize the President of the United States to take possession of railroad and telegraph lines in certain cases. Pearce defended the patriotic service of the railroads in Maryland and denied that the government had the right to control the roads except in rebellious states. He felt that the employees of a railroad should not be subject to military service of any kind.⁷⁶ Senator Kennedy entered the debate to ask if the bill provided for compensation to owners of roads that were to be taken over. He was informed in the negative, and that the rates for travel and transportation had not been decided either.

During the early days of the Civil War the buildings of the Naval Academy at Annapolis were used as a military hospital; subsequently the Academy was transferred to Newport, Rhode Island. Thus, when the Naval Appropriation bill came up for discussion on May 19, 1862, Representatives Webster and Calvert of Maryland urged that the Academy be returned to Annapolis.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, pp. 1505, 1515-1519.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1515, 1518-1519, 1577.

⁷⁵ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, April 27, 1864. The order, forbidding publication of the speech in the *St. Mary's Gazette*, was issued by F. W. Dickison, Acting Adjutant for the District of St. Mary's County with headquarters in Leonardtown.

⁷⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 506-509.

Calvert said that the expense of operating the Academy in Newport was much greater than at Annapolis. Buildings had to be rented at Newport and the cost of heating, lighting, water, and other items was greater. He said there was no observatory at Newport, no philosophical or chemical hall, and no hospital. All these buildings were at Annapolis, built at a cost of \$500,000 and "you cannot replace them at any other point for that sum." Newport, said Calvert, was an advantageous spot for certain purposes, but was not suitable for the education of young men. "It is a fashionable watering place." Calvert proposed an amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill making it unlawful to permanently change the location of the Academy from Annapolis to Newport or any other place. This amendment was defeated, however, and Webster proposed the following: "Provided, That the school shall be returned to Annapolis at the earliest moment practicable."⁷⁷ He pointed to the advantages of Annapolis in the matter of climate and morals. "Although we are not generally a Maine law people in my State, yet the Maine law has been steadily enforced in the city of Annapolis for the last four years, and I believe there has been no instance in which any boy at the Naval Academy has been able to obtain liquor." At Annapolis the weather was more suitable for drill and for outside sports, and the location was not too close to war scenes. At this point Representative Charles B. Sedgwick stated that the Academy could not be located at Annapolis because that town was then occupied by the army. Lovejoy of Illinois threw fuel on the fire by declaring: "I simply want to say to the gentleman from Maryland that if ever he wants to get this school back to Maryland, that State must abolish slavery. We shall never send our young men to be educated under the influences of that institution."⁷⁸ Ignoring Lovejoy, Crisfield said that he was primarily interested in preventing the Academy from leaving Annapolis permanently, and did not object to its temporary removal, although he thought Annapolis was the ideal place for the Academy even during the war. William P. Sheffield, Representative from Rhode Island, resented implications that Rhode Island was an unfit place for the Academy. He said that when "this school was driven from . . . Annapolis by the people of Maryland, the men of Rhode

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2213. This amendment was rejected.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2214.

Island were there to protect the school and the government. . . ." Crisfield interrupted to "protest against that declaration," and to deny that the Academy was ever driven from Annapolis.⁷⁹

Reverdy Johnson, who seemed to speak on every measure that came before the Senate, spoke as an expert on financial matters and taxation. He was opposed to the exemption of national bank stock from taxation, saying that it worked a hardship on Maryland. Such a measure was unnecessary since national banks would probably supersede state banks and should, therefore, be able to pay both national and state taxes.⁸⁰ Johnson took a great interest in District of Columbia affairs and spoke on every important measure concerning them. He upheld the Negro's right to ride on District street cars and on the cars of any state unless its laws specifically forbade it. "There is no more right to exclude a black man from a car designed for the transportation of white persons than there is the right to refuse to transport in a car designed for black persons, white men." Johnson insisted that too much time was spent on the Senate floor discussing the Negro question. He believed that public judgment would oppose political and social equality, so why bother with it.⁸¹

Congressman Francis Thomas, who had raised four infantry regiments and four cavalry companies in Western Maryland for Federal service, argued on February 3, 1863, for appropriations for the defense of Washington and for an armed force to be stationed in Western Maryland counties bordering on the Potomac. Such a guard, he said, would not only defend the State against an attack from the South, but would prevent a possible rush of Maryland slaves to the North when Federal armies went South. This guard would help keep communication open from the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay to the Mississippi valley, "over which the large supplies for our vast armies here, and as they march south, must necessarily be drawn."⁸²

Thomas mentioned his services in raising troops, stating that he had not had military experience prior to such action. He was

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2215.

⁸⁰ For Johnson's speeches on financial subjects see *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 38th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 491-492, 882-883; Pt. 2, pp. 1668, 1671-1672, 1924-1925, 1930-1933; Pt. 3, pp. 1955-1958, 2203, 2514-2515, 2731-2732, 2735.

⁸¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 38th Cong., Pt. 1, p. 817.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 3rd Sess., 37th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 612-613.

a slaveholder, and the son of a slaveholder, and had recently manumitted eleven slaves. This was a large number, he said, considering the fact that in Western Maryland counties there were only 8,000 slaves in a population of 93,000. Thomas tried in vain to secure compensation for persons in Western Maryland who had lost property to the army.⁸³ Webster also spoke in behalf of property owners who had suffered losses as a result of military maneuvers. He felt that such people should be compensated.⁸⁴

Maryland's delegation in Congress during the Civil War was, with the exception of Reverdy Johnson in the Senate and Henry Winter Davis in the House of Representatives, an average one. Johnson and Davis would have won distinction in any deliberative body. In 1861 not a single member of the delegation was wholly loyal. Certain members, notably Pearce in the Senate and Henry May and Benjamin G. Harris in the House, were vigorous opponents of the Lincoln Administration and the war. Others, including Crisfield, Webster, Leary, Thomas, and Calvert, swung from a doubtful loyal position in 1861 and 1862 to a loyal one by 1863. Crisfield and May were replaced in 1863 by the Unconditional Unionists, Creswell and Davis. Davis, although strong in his loyalty to the Union, found himself at odds with Lincoln over early restoration policies. In shifting to the fold of the Radical Republicans he lost the support of the *Baltimore American*, Unionist newspaper that in 1863 considered him its ideal candidate. The Maryland delegation was primarily interested in the measures that directly affected their State, particularly those concerning slavery and emancipation. They often criticized the Government's policies on these and other issues but they bitterly resented any expression of doubt as to Maryland's loyalty to the Union.

(*To be continued*)

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1st Sess., 38th Cong., Pt. 1, pp. 910-912, 914-915, 919, 925; Pt. 3, p. 2029.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., Pt. 3, p. 2215.

BOOK REVIEWS

Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland. Foreword by
ADELYN D. BRESKIN. Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1945.
Pp. 78. \$1.75.

It happens occasionally that cautious museum trustees, groaning taxpayers, professional malcontents, and others concerned with the expenditure of public funds question the need for elaborately documented and well illustrated catalogues of art exhibitions sponsored by public museums. The arguments frequently heard are that the production of a good catalogue is a waste of money, an expensive luxury, that such a publication is necessarily sold at too high a price to be bought in quantity by average, casual museum visitors, and that catalogues of a more or less scholarly nature are published principally for the entertainment and self-glorification of museum directors and curators.

The critics who contend that exhibition catalogues are unnecessary, that all the required information about the exhibits can be noted on printed signs located in the galleries during the period of the exhibition, and who feel that the show alone is the thing,—these critics are usually the same people who are totally ignorant of or have completely forgotten the fact that a museum is an educational institution, and who conceive of it simply as a gaudy (though refined) palace of entertainment and public joy.

The volume under discussion at the moment is a strong rebuttal of such a point of view. The Baltimore Museum of Art prepared an exhibition of "Painting in Maryland." The exhibit was shown in the Museum's galleries from May 11 through June 17, 1945. The exhibition included two hundred pictures, works of the most famous and respected Maryland painters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was a good exhibition and thousands of visitors enjoyed seeing it. But, now the exhibition is over. Without a catalogue the exhibit would have been merely a "show" and now would be only a pleasant memory.

For producing a carefully prepared and historically valuable catalogue of this exhibit of "Painting in Maryland" the Director and the Trustees of the Museum should be congratulated. The "Survey of Painting in Maryland" by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, which serves as an introduction to the catalogue, and the detailed notes on the individual artists and their works, make this book not only a pleasant record of an interesting exhibit, but a definitive answer to critics of museum publications and a scholarly contribution to the literature of the history of art in Maryland.

RICHARD CARL MEDFORD.

The Municipal Museum, Baltimore.

John Dooley, Confederate Soldier. His War Journal. Edited by JOSEPH T. DURKIN, S. J. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 244 pp. \$3.00.

John Dooley, a native of Richmond, Va., left Georgetown College to join the 1st Virginia Infantry in August, 1862. He was just too late for the battle of Cedar Mountain, but took part in the battles of Second Manassas, Antietam, Fredericksburg and Gettysburg. He was in Pickett's charge, was wounded, captured and imprisoned at Johnson Island, Lake Erie, for several months before being paroled. His account is that of a man in the ranks, with its sweat, fatigue and hunger; its fear and elation in battle, and the infantryman's unfailing anodyne of humor. Save for a few anachronisms it might have been written by Ernie Pyle or pictured by Mauldin. For example, the G. I. of this present war wasn't accompanied by a body servant and probably did not as a rule mess with his lieutenant and captain as Dooley did. And the educated private in the Army of Northern Virginia probably had a better idea of the plans of his leaders than the private of today. Dooley, incidentally, ended his military career as a captain.

The volume might better be described as reminiscences than a diary, for the impression one gets is that many of the entries were written considerably after the events mentioned. In fact, the editor calls attention to various revisions and expansions made while the author was in prison and later when he returned to Georgetown after the war. Nevertheless it is a valuable addition to the rather limited record of the thoughts and feelings of the common soldier.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE.

Some of the Earliest Oaths of Allegiance to the United States of America.

By NELLIE PROTSMAN WALDENMAIER. Privately printed. 93 pp. \$3.50.

Mrs. Waldenmaier has compiled a list of 1,613 oaths of allegiance subscribed by military and civilian leaders in obedience to a resolution of Congress in 1778. Most of the oaths date from that year, but a few run as late as 1788. The originals are in two sources: the Records of the War Department in The National Archives, and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

An Introduction describes the historical background of the oaths and the physical setting of their administration. The details of the documents themselves—such as the speculative fate of the "duplicate" certificates presumably retained by the signers—show something of the usual story of old manuscripts.

The information supplied concerning each oath is gathered from the original papers; no effort is made to piece out the data, although often this might be done without difficulty. Indeed, this is a deliberate policy

of the editor, and it seems a wise one, for it would be confusing to try to differentiate between the two types of material. What we learn, besides the name and position of the subscriber, is the date of the oath, the place where it was taken, and the official witness. Numerous small bits of *curiosa* appear, such as the fact that George Washington served as witness for every general of the Continental Army *except* Benedict Arnold.

This slender volume will be greeted enthusiastically by genealogists trying to prove Revolutionary service for their ancestors. At the same time, it is an interesting addition to the general fund of knowledge concerning the American Revolution, and will serve as a reference book for various types of historians.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Proceedings of the Clarke County Historical Association, Volume IV.

Berryville, Virginia: The Association, 1944. 65 pp. \$1.00.

The high standard already set by the Clarke County Historical Association in its *Proceedings* is fully sustained by Volume IV of this valuable publication. This number contains an early diary record, accounts of old families and old houses, and of "Greenway" Court in the Shenandoah Valley, as well as an interesting report of the Portraits Committee of the Association.

Here is to be found a reliable and readable record of the descendants of Colonel Lewis Burwell (1658-1710) of Gloucester County, whose greatgrandson, Nathaniel Burwell, settled in the Valley and built the notable "Carter Hall" mansion house. The diary of the Rev. Frederick Deane Goodwin, who in 1826 became a tutor in the Whiting family of "Clay Hill," graphically describes the spiritual struggles of a young man brought up as a rigorous Massachusetts Congregationalist to adjust himself to the liberal and gracious life of the well-to-do Virginia gentry. That a compromise was effected is shown by the fact that soon afterwards he exchanged Puritanism for Episcopacy and as a clergyman of the Episcopal Church became the progenitor of eleven clergy of this church, one of them the present Bishop of Virginia. In this same issue is also to be found a biographical sketch of Bishop Richard Hooker Wilmer of Alabama, a noted ecclesiastic and wit.

An account of "Vaucluse," built by Gabriel Jones, is illustrated with a good photograph. The title of a paper, "The Manor of Greenway Court," part of the vast Fairfax holdings in the Valley, is a reminder to Marylanders that there were manors in that part of Virginia known as the Northern Neck as well as in Maryland, although with few exceptions manorial courts and other feudal customs did not exist on Virginia manors.

In one respect the Clarke County Historical Association has accomplished a work which other county historical societies should emulate. Through the untiring zeal of Mr. Everard K. Meade, chairman of its Portrait Committee, it has brought together a collection of photographs of nearly

five hundred portraits of the notables of Clarke County and of their progenitors, a collection of great value to the student of early American portraiture.

J. HALL PLEASANTS

The American Pioneer in Forty-eight States. By C. STEWART PETERSON.
New York: William-Frederick Press, 1945. 190 p. \$3.25.

This book is an effort to tell the essential facts of the origin, early settlement and government of each of the forty-eight states. It is in this sense that the author employs the term "pioneer," when referring to the builders of a commonwealth. The general theme is thus stated: "A study of the American pioneers will reveal the quiet heroism that long ago laid the foundations for our culture, comfort and wealth."

Each state is listed in the order in which it signed the Constitution or was admitted to the Union. Designed to aid in teaching United States history, the book will also be a useful aid in libraries.

J. W. F.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SUPPORT FOR THE AIMS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The address of General Marshall, printed in this number, again calls attention to the increased emphasis which national leaders, and informed persons generally, are placing on a knowledge of history as an aid to an intelligent citizenry. In our last issue mention was made in this place of the remarks on this subject by President Truman, when he spoke before the Society on March 27th. Taken together, these two statements on the significance of historical knowledge constitute an arresting emphasis on the things and ideas for which historical societies were established and for which they labor.

Still another great American figure has come close to this general topic. In his Guildhall speech in London on June 12—a speech called "one of the great orations of the war" by the *Illustrated London News* (June 23, 1945)—General Eisenhower testified to his deep awareness of his own geographical background and of the spiritual values inherent in American history. A part of his address deserves repetition in this connection:

"... I am not a native of this land. I come from the very heart of America. In the superficial aspects by which we ordinarily recognise family relationships, the town where I was born and the one where I was reared are far separated from this great city. Abilene, Kansas, and Denison, Texas, would together add in size to possibly one five-hundredth part of Greater London. By your standards those towns are young, with-

out your aged traditions that carry the roots of London back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. To those people I am proud to belong, but I find myself today five thousand miles from that countryside, the honoured guest of a city, whose name stands for grandeur and size throughout the world. Hardly would it seem possible for the London Council to have gone farther afield to find a man to honour with its priceless gift of token citizenship.

Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity, size, and age. *Rather we should turn to those inner things, call them what you will—I mean those intangibles that are the real treasures free men possess.* To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to the provision that he trespass not upon similar rights of others—the Londoner will fight! So will the citizen of Abilene! When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas. To my mind it is clear, that when two peoples will face the tragedies of war to defend the same spiritual values, the same treasured rights, then, in deepest sense, those two are truly related. . . ."

Mordecai Gist's Letter to Matthew Tilghman, 1775—Can any reader tell the whereabouts of the original letter of Mordecai Gist to Matthew Tilghman, President of the Maryland Convention, which is printed on page 139 of Scharf's *Chronicles of Baltimore*? The letter is dated Dec. 30, 1775, and is cited by Scharf as proof that Gist raised the first of all the military companies in Maryland at the outset of the Revolution. A writer of military history seeks verification of this letter, which is not found among the Scharf Papers or other collections of the Society nor in the Hall of Records—THE EDITOR.

THE BLACKISTONE FAMILY OF MARYLAND:

EBENEZER BLAKISTON, 1705-1772

By FRANKLIN BLACKSTONE

An article on the Blackistone Family of Maryland appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for 1907 (Vol. II, pages 54-64 and 172-179). On page 174 is found the following:

- "17. EBENEZER BLAKISTON⁵: (John⁴, John³, George², Marmaduke¹.) sold his share of Boxley to his brother William 29 July, 1741 . . . 50 Acres, willed to said Ebenezer by his deceased father, John Blakiston . . . (Kent Co., Lib. IS., No. 23, fol. 316). He died in 1777, intestate, 14 Nov. 1777, Mary Blakiston, widow, gave bond in £1000 Sterling as Administratrix of Ebe-

nezer Blakiston, late of said county, deceased, her sureties being Thomas and Marmaduke Medford (Kent Co. Admin. Bonds, Lib. 6, fol. 32). Ebenezer Blakiston married, 14 April, 1737, Mary Maxwell (St. Paul's, Kent Co.,) but as he left no will it is difficult to trace his issue."

Recent researches (1944-45) establish definitely that Ebenezer Blakiston died in April, 1772, as his will was probated 6 April, 1772 (Kent Co., Lib. Wills 5, f. 96). He appointed his wife "Hannahretta" as Executrix and named as his children, Stephen, Michael, James, Ebenezer and Joseph. Henrietta Blakiston filed her account on 22 December, 1772, and mentioned them. She was the *second* wife of said Ebenezer Blakiston, his first wife, as previously stated, having been Mary Maxwell, married 14 April, 1737, St. Paul's, Kent Co., Md. Date of her death is not known to the writer. Some years after the death of Ebenezer Blakiston, Hannahretta married Matthew Richardson, Sr., who joined with her in conveying 66 2/3 Acres of "Queen Charlton" to her son Joseph Blakiston (son of Ebenezer) born 16 February, 1760 (St. Paul's Parish records). The conveyance was recorded Kent Co., B. C. 4 folio 129, on 3d October, 1794. This property had been inherited by Hannahretta from her father Thomas Mahon (Mawhawn) (Will Book 2, folio 186, probated 24 January, 1742; also noted in Land Records, Kent Co., p. 163, on 25 March, 1749, and mentioned in Deed Book DD 2, 1765).

Joseph Blackiston, and wife Mary, sold the 66 2/3 Acres of "Queen Charlton" on 5 January, 1796, as recorded in B. C. 4 folio 566, to George Hanson. Joseph and Mary Blackiston also signed an agreement in 1797 to purchase land from Lewis Alfree in New Castle County, Del., but transferred it in 1799 to Jared Rothwell. The agreement was witnessed by James Blackiston and Jacob Alfree and was proved in Common Pleas Court at New Castle, Del., May 24, 1808, by said James Blackiston.

The wife of the Ebenezer Blackiston who died intestate in 1777 was *Mary Medford*, daughter of George Medford. The will of George Medford was proved 17 October, 1761, and mentions his "daughter, Mary, wife of Ebenezer Blakiston." Mary Medford Blackiston's will was proved 12 November, 1780. In it she mentions her "daughter Mary," her "sons George and Ebenezer" and her "*brother Marmaduke Medford*." Her sureties as administratrix of the estate of Ebenezer Blakiston, intestate 1777, were Thomas Medford and Marmaduke Medford. Her daughter, Mary, was born 29 April, 1763 (St. Paul's Parish records).

Hannahretta Mahon was the widow of Bartholemew Garnett when she married Ebenezer Blakiston, son of John and Hannah Blakiston. Ebenezer had brothers, John (no issue), Prideaux, Thomas, Vincent, William, Michael, Benjamin, and two sisters, Mary (married ——— Covington) and Sarah Blakiston (Register, St. Paul's Parish, Kent Co.; Kent Co., Deed Book D. D. 1765; Will Book 2, folio 186).

Hannahretta Blakiston was born 1 October, 1725, a daughter of Thomas Mahon and wife, née Mary Moore (St. Paul's Parish). Thomas Mahon and Mary Moore were married 12 April, 1716 (St. Paul's), and, in addi-

tion to Hannahretta, had son Thomas (no issue) and daughter Ann, born 13 March, 1726; Mary (married James Blake); Amelia Sophia Charlotta, born 3 October, 1737, married ——— Ricketts.

There were several Ebenezer Blakiston's in Kent County, Md.:

1. Captain Ebenezer Blakiston, b. 1650: d. 1709:
2. Major Ebenezer Blakiston, b. 1746: son of Captain Ebenezer:
3. Ebenezer Blakiston, b. 1705: d. 1772, son of John: subject of this article.
4. Ebenezer Blakiston, son of the Ebenezer who died 1772:
5. Ebenezer Blakiston, b. 1728 son of Benjamin:
6. Ebenezer Blakiston, son of William: a minor in 1737:
7. Ebenezer Blakiston, son of the John who died 1774, John being a brother of Ebenezer 1705-1772:
8. Ebenezer Blakiston, son of George: who died in Dover, Del., 1778, was son of Benjamin:

In his will (Annapolis, Lib. 37, f. 56) Vincent Blakiston, brother of Ebenezer Blakiston (sons of John), mentions James Blakiston, son of Ebenezer Blakiston.

In the many court house records of Maryland that relate to this line of the Blakiston family, descended from George son of Marmaduke, the name is spelled Blakiston, Blackiston, Blackstone, Blackistone, Blakistone and Blackston. The records duoted in the article prove that Ebenezer⁶, son of John⁴, John³, George², Marmaduke¹, Blakiston left a will and had sons Stephen, Michael, James, Ebenezer and Joseph Blackiston.

The Reverend Marmaduke Blakiston, marked ¹ in this article, was son of John Blakiston of Blakiston (England) whose wife was Elizabeth Bowes, a daughter of Sir George Bowes. Of the eight sons and three daughters of the Reverend Marmaduke Blakiston, Durham, England, George was the youngest son and came to Maryland in 1668. Another son of the Reverend Marmaduke Blakiston was John, one of the Judges who signed the death warrant of King Charles I. The widow of Judge John Blakiston and her sons were brought to Maryland by George Blakiston who had been Sheriff of Durham County, under Parliament, in 1656.

The name, as have many others, has undergone many changes in spelling from its original Norman: De Blaykestone, de Blakistone, de Blakiston, Blakiston, Blackiston, Blackistone, Blackstone, Blackston.

William Blackstone, a relative of George Blakiston the emigrant, served as a colonel in the army of King Charles I and is said to have been knighted during the Battle of Oxford. William Blackstone, one of the first three settlers of Boston, Mass., was also related to the Reverend Marmaduke Blakiston, the father of George Blakiston and the Judge. The Reverend Marmaduke Blakiston was the father of six other sons (four of whom were clergymen) and of three daughters. The old motto was "Fac bene non dubitans."

Head—William Head married before 1718 Ann Bigger, daughter of Col. John Bigger. Did said Ann Bigger Head marry second Weldon

Jefferson? We would appreciate any information available relative to this William Head and his descendants, or any Heads or their descendants, especially in Maryland. Can anyone enlighten us on the ancestry of William Edward Head of Frederick county, Maryland?

JOHN HARRIS WATTS,
Grand Junction, Pa.

Tilghman-Tillman Family—A revision of the book on this family, published in 1938, is in course of preparation by Mr. Stephen F. Tillman, 3000 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 8, D. C., who will be glad to hear from members of that family and connections. The new edition will contain about 200 pages of additional matter. Mr. Tillman is a member of the Society.

Ball Family—Attention is directed to an error in the chart of the Ball Family on page 164 of the June (1945) issue of the Maryland Historical Magazine. The statement that Lieut. Thomas Ball married Susannah Kemp is incorrect. The maiden surname of Susannah is unknown.

FRANCIS B. CULVER.

Denun-Burrell-Forrest—I want the names of the parents (mother's complete name), with proof of marriage of each of the following;

James Denune, d. 1739 in Anne Arundel County, and left a widow, Rebecca Woodall Denune.

Alexander Burrell, d. 1784 in Prince George's County. He married Eleanor Dent, ca. 1755.

William Forrest, married Lucy, daughter of Samuel DuVall, ca. 1740. He lived in Prince George's County.

I will pay twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) each for the first correct answer sent to me.

There was a James Denune who lived in Prince George's County, contemporaneous with James Denune of Anne Arundel, and there was another William Forrest who lived in Anne Arundel County, contemporaneous with the William Forrest of Prince George's County. I am interested in the James Denune who lived in Anne Arundel County and died there. James Denune has been called the brother of William Denune who married Elizabeth DuVall, but I have no proof of it. He may have been William's father.

ETHEL DENUNE YOUNG,
(MRS. NORVILLE FINLEY YOUNG),
1968 Denune Ave., Columbus 3, Ohio.

Bigler-Lease—Mark Bigler arrived in Pennsylvania in 1733, settling first in Lancaster Co., where he had land warrant for 200 acres in 1738. Later he removed to Frederick Co., Md. His will, proved 1787, names wife Catherine (sometimes called Maria Catherine), and 11 children: 1, Catherine m. Henry Miller; 2, Elizabeth m. Henry Eller (or Etter); 3, Pheobe m. Lazarus Fonderburgh; 4, Salome m. Samuel Tomme; 5, Mark, Jr. m. Catherine Lease; 6, Israel; 7, Jacob; 8, daughter m. Randabush; 9, Hester; 10, Juliana; 11, Barbara. Information is wanted concerning the maiden name and parentage of Catherine, wife of Mark Bigler, a Palatine emigrant, born 1705.

Philip Lease (Liest, Liest, Leese, &c.), arrived in 1749. He was naturalized Sept. 14, 1765, in Vincent Twp., Chester Co., Pa. (affirmed). He was taxed in Pikeland 1757, in Coventry in 1763 and Vincent 1765. Died in Frederick Co., Md., about 1769; estate settled 1784. Left widow Margaret and daughter Catherine, wife of Mark Bigler, Jr. Mark Bigler and Catherine, his wife removed to Botetourt Co., Va., about 1785. Information is wanted concerning the maiden name and parentage of the wife of Philip Lease.

MARY HOSS HEADMAN,
920 Walnut St., Knoxville, Tenn.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XL

DECEMBER, 1945

No. 4

A PEOPLE AT WAR:

HAGERSTOWN, MARYLAND, JUNE 15-AUGUST 31, 1863.

By FLETCHER M. GREEN

During peace times the people along the border or boundary of two nations are likely to maintain friendly, and even intimate, associations and relationships. They engage in trade and commerce with each other, participate in joint social and religious exercises, and often intermarry. If the two nations have different languages the people of the one often speak the language of their neighbor nation as well as their own. But in war times the people of the borderland are more divided than those of the interior. The bonds that draw them together in peace are sundered and public feeling runs at high tension. The necessity of loyalty to one's own country causes the people to look with suspicion upon their friends and neighbors across the border. There are also divided loyalties at home, and communities are torn with dissension; families are divided and brother is pitted against brother and father against son.

Feeling is particularly taut in times of civil conflict. This was the case in the border slave states during the American Civil War. Public feeling was intense in Maryland because of her geographic location and the strong counter currents of her own public opinion;¹ the conflict in opinion and sympathy was especially

¹ Charles Branch Clark, "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (No. 3, September, 1941), 241 and *passim*.

marked in Western Maryland.² The general pattern of life, family ties and social relationships, slave interests, and the belief in State sovereignty and Southern rights pulled the people toward the Confederacy; but economic exchange and the love of the Union held fast to the United States. Many Western Marylanders had attended college in Pennsylvania and others had intermarried with the Pennsylvania Dutch. Furthermore, many of them were of the same German stock as their Pennsylvania neighbors. Consequently a majority of the people of Western Maryland favored the Union, but a large and respectable element favored the South and opposed the coercion of the seceding states.

The tone and character of resolutions adopted by public meetings illustrate the divided sentiment. A meeting at Hancock resolved that, "standing as we do between the two extremes," we cannot "look upon the result of our recent election as a justification for a withdrawal from the National Union, and consequently a disruption of our government." An assembly of Frederick asked the legislature to appoint delegates "to represent the State in such general convention of the slave-holding States as may be convoked to guard and protect Southern interests and Southern rights." The people of Rockville divided equally on the resolution "That if, unfortunately, the slavery question cannot now be settled permanently upon terms acceptable to the South and the North, and the Union should be dissolved, then Maryland ought to go with the South." And a Hagerstown gathering declared "that in our opinion and judgment the present evils of our country have been produced and precipitated upon us by a persistent and dogmatical course of fanaticism in the Northern States . . . and the Southern and slave-holding States of this Union have suffered much at the hands of the people of the Northern States." When the resolution was adopted a large Unionist group withdrew and adopted resolutions strongly favoring the North.³

Hagerstown, situated six miles from the Pennsylvania state line on the north and six miles from the Virginia state line on the south, illustrates clearly and forcefully the discord and difficulties

² John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland. Being a History of Frederick, Montgomery, Carroll, Washington, Allegany, and Garrett Counties From the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men*, 2 volumes (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1882), I, 194 and *passim*.

³ For these and similar resolutions see Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 195-197.

of a border town during the War. It changed hands several times during the conflict and first one and then the other faction held the upper hand. Early in June of 1861 Major General Robert Patterson with some ten thousand Federal troops occupied the town with his headquarters in the Hagerstown Female Seminary. He ordered the arrest of such leading Southern sympathizers as Judge Richard H. Alvey of the State Court of Appeals and Dr. Charles MacGill, a noted physician. There was much skirmishing in the vicinity in 1861-1862. When General Nathaniel P. Banks was defeated by the Confederates and forced to withdraw in May, 1862, his troops destroyed the press, type, materials, and building of the Hagerstown *Mail* and other business enterprises. When they learned that the building belonged to a Union man the Federals raised money to pay him for his loss. When the Confederates occupied the town the provost marshal used the same quarters the Union provost marshal had formerly occupied. General Jonathan T. (Stonewall) Jackson's forces soon withdrew, but General James Longstreet was back again in September, 1862.

As General Robert E. Lee's forces passed through the town on its first invasion of the Union in 1862, a Confederate correspondent wrote that "Some few young men openly avowed their Southern feeling and joined us, but the greater number stood as if thinking, 'I should much like to assist you if I dared, but how long will you remain? I am between two fires; I must sacrifice principle and secure my home.' " ⁴ The Unionists fled across the border into Pennsylvania but the Confederates suppressed their paper, the *Herald and Torch*.

Hagerstown was again in the path of General Lee's army when he invaded Pennsylvania in 1863, and Southern sympathizers welcomed the Confederates once more. From June 15 to July 14 the Confederates were in and about the town and their supporters were in high spirits. But when the Confederates withdrew after the disastrous defeat at Gettysburg and the Federals reoccupied the town Southern sympathizers had to pay for their disloyalty. Many were banished from their homes and others fled to escape punishment. For a time, however, the Federal army found hospitals in the Washington House and the Lyceum Hall while at the same time the Confederate sick and wounded were hospitalized in the Female Seminary building.

⁴ Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 229, says only about two hundred joined the invasion forces.

These stirring days in Hagerstown were graphically depicted in a Diary kept by Mary Louisa, generally known as Lutie, Kealhofer. She was the daughter of George Kealhofer, president of the Hagerstown Gas Light Company, and his wife Mary Hamenkamp, well-to-do Southern sympathizers. Lutie was at this time only twenty-two years of age and she displayed a spirited zeal for the Confederate cause, part of which may unquestionably be attributed to the fact that her suitor and future husband served in the Confederate army on the invasion and visited her a number of times while in the vicinity of Hagerstown.

Miss Kealhofer's Diary was kept in a small cloth-bound book, three inches by five. It begins with the entry of June 21 and closes with that of August 31, except for a single entry for June 30, 1864. The book also contains a journal of a trip taken by Miss Kealhofer in 1864 from Hagerstown through Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania, Elmira and Rochester, New York, to Niagara Falls. Leaving Niagara, Miss Kealhofer visited Toronto, Kingston and Montreal, Canada, and returned home by way of Saratoga, Albany, New York City, and Philadelphia. But it is the Diary which is of interest here.

DIARY OF MISS LUTIE KEALHOFER ⁵

Hagerstown, Maryland.

Sunday June 21, 1863

Monday afternoon June 15, 1863 Hagerstown was occupied by the Confederates.⁶ Tuesday was a day of intense excitement. Every day since we have been seeing old friends & meeting new ones. Many—indeed all pleasant acquaintances. Thursday evening to my great surprise Willie

⁵ The Diary was presented to the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina by Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr., the daughter of the writer of the Diary.

⁶ The desire to compel the Federal forces to withdraw from their stronghold on the Rappahannock, the urgent necessity of provisions for his own army, and the hope that the Peace group in the North would bring pressure on the government and compel it to sue for peace if the war was brought home to them led General Robert E. Lee to determine upon an invasion of Pennsylvania in the spring of 1863. He reorganized his army placing General Richard Stoddert Ewell in command of Jackson's Corps, General James Longstreet was in command of the First Corps, and General Ambrose P. Hill was given command of the new Third Corps. General Ewell led the invasion into Pennsylvania by way of Winchester and Hagerstown. His troops reached Hagerstown on June 15. This same Corps had been there in 1862. See Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee. A Biography*, 4 volumes (New York: Scribner, 1935), III, 1-2, 18-19, 36-38.

Giles⁷ arrived here—remained Friday & yesterday [Sat] went with a part of his company to Pennsylvania. This morning [Sunday] he left with his friend Mr. Rench⁸ for Frederick. Gen Ewell has just passed from the R. C. Church in a carriage⁹—but has driven so rapidly that we had only a glimpse of him.

Monday June 22

One week we had been in Dixie. Mr. France took tea with us again last evening with his friend Major Blackford.¹⁰ I like him very much. This morning they all left for Penn—Infantry, Cavalry, & artillery. General Ramseur¹¹ said he bade us goodbye only for a little while. It is very quiet here today & has been notwithstanding the thousands of soldiers all around us. I wish the boys were home.¹² We heard of them this morning.

It is very quiet now. Thousands upon thousands of soldiers passed through yesterday—54 pieces of artillery, etc. etc. Met some of my old friends—amongst them Henry Douglas A. A. G.¹³—he is not spoiled & just the same old Henry. I think he is a good friend of mine. This morning Willie G.[iles] stopped with some of his friends Company C—for a moment on their way to Penna. They're all gone now—oh how earnestly I *pray* they may all return in safety. I cannot help feeling anxious.

⁷ Willie Giles was William Fell Giles, Jr., son of Judge William Fell and Sarah (Wilson) Giles. He was born in Baltimore in 1835 and died in Chambrige, France in 1891. He was graduated from Princeton University, served as an officer in the Confederate army and as United States consul at Geneva, Switzerland. He married Miss Lutie Kealhofer, the author of the Diary. Mrs. Harry W. (Mary Giles) Blunt, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

⁸ Benjamin Rench was the son of Andrew Rench, a leading planter of Washington County, Maryland. Benjamin was a director of the county Agricultural Society. His youngest brother DeWitt Clinton was stoned and shot to death by a Unionist mob at Williamsport when he announced that he was going to join the Confederate army. Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall*, edited with notes and a biographical sketch of the author by Fletcher M. Green (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), pp. 7, 155-156. See also Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1309.

⁹ Richard Stoddert Ewell, born in Georgetown, D. C. and educated at the United States Military Academy, lost a leg at Groveton and had to be lifted and strapped to his saddle. He rode in a carriage whenever possible.

¹⁰ Major William Blackford of General Rhodes's division.

¹¹ Stephen Dodson Ramseur (1837-1864) of Lincolnton, North Carolina, and a graduate of the United States Military Academy, was a brigadier general in D. H. Hill's division of the Second Corps.

¹² "The boys" were Miss Lutie's brothers, Richard H. and William Kealhofer. They were attending Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Neither served in either the Confederate or Union army. Richard H. later studied medicine in Vienna. Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, February 1, 1943.

¹³ Henry Kyd Douglas, Assistant Adjutant General to Major General Edward Johnson commanding Stonewall Jackson's old division, was born at Shepherdstown, Virginia, in 1840 and died in Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1903. He was the author of *I Rode With Stonewall*. For a sketch of his career see Fletcher M. Green, "The Author and His Book," in *ibid.*, pp. 351-358.

Tom H is in town. Mr. Swann has just arrived—reports A. P. Hill crossing at Shepherdstown.¹⁴ Belle Boyd was in town yesterday. The famous Belle Boyd¹⁵—She is by no means the masculine looking person I expected to see. Henry Bell¹⁶ goes tonight—I wish I knew where the boys are—God will take care of them.

Thursday Evening 25th

More old friends—how glad I am to see them. I feel that we are really in Dixie for good. So many soldiers—such an immense army. Gen. A. P. Hill passed through this morning. His Corps is incamped near town.

Sat Even 27th

The cry is still, "They Come!" It would be useless to mention names. I should never get through. Yesterday I had the honor of an introduction to Gen. R. E. Lee, Gen. Longstreet & Gen. Pickett. I shall ever remember & feel proud of having shaken hands with such men. I still feel anxious about the absent but trust all will be well with them.

Sunday Morn June 28th

Was roused early this morning to see my old friend Charles Hardy. He stayed until after breakfast and then hurried off as there is a rumor the Yankees are coming & he had something important in charge. I never saw men so bold as the Rebels. They are so cool & seem disposed to take their time—not at all alarmed at the approach of the enemy.¹⁷ I hope there may be no fighting here.

Sunday Night

We had quite an amusing time this evening—a squad of Yankees dashed in town—but before they had time even to parole the prisoners they heard the Rebels were coming & out they flew faster than they came. The Rebels dashed after them but did not overtake them. They coolly took Mr. Young's hogs, watch, & other things—but had not time to accomplish much.

¹⁴ General Ambrose P. Hill, commanding the Third Corps, led his army from Culpeper, Virginia, up the Rappahannock, crossed the Blue Ridge at Chester Gap, and from thence followed General Ewell's route to Gettysburg.

¹⁵ Belle Boyd's home was in nearby Martinsburg, Virginia. For a good account of her exploits as a Confederate spy see Louis A. Sigaud, *Belle Boyd, Confederate Spy* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1944).

¹⁶ Henry Bell, son of William D. Bell, founder of the Hagerstown *Torch-Light*, was born in Hagerstown and served in the Confederate army throughout the War. His brother George was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1853 and was a general in the Union Army.

¹⁷ This view is borne out by the Hagerstown *Herald and Torch* which reported that "The condition and morale of the Confederate army is beyond description. They come among us not only badly clothed . . . but in a half-starving condition . . . but they fight desperately."

Tuesday Eve

Feel rather better this evening but was really miserable all yesterday with my back. Things appear to be "In Statu Quo." Some persons who tried to get to Balt—returned today & report the R. Road torn up beyond Fred. These are stirring times—one hour we are under Jeff Davis—the next under Abraham & before the good Union people have time to congratulate themselves upon their release from Rebel rule in dashes a squad of these impudent Rebels & Jeff claims us again. So the world goes. I've given up some of my former *friends* (?) Loulie Mc was here this morning—she bears up nobly but seems lost without Charlie.¹⁸ We're determined to go to the R. Catholic Church.

Friday, July 3rd

Was surprised last Eve by a visit from Mr. Hewless. A large body of Rebel cavalry was in town yesterday, the notorious Moseby¹⁹ amongst them. At dinner today he heard that some Union people had sent for some of their men to capture him & his two aids—he quietly finished his dinner & after strolling around awhile the three started off in the direction the Yankees were expected—We've seen none since Wed. Morn. Jefferson has claimed us—I suppose just at this moment we are on neutral ground.

Sat, July 4, 1863.

I little dreamed this day one year ago that my next 4th July would be spent in ministering to the inmates of a Rebel Hospital.²⁰ Such has indeed been the case. They are all pretty comfortable & doing well. There has been some excitement in town this afternoon caused by a dash of Yankee Cav. They charged up street with drawn bayonets in fine style—several of them were unhorsed—finding no enemy they returned & now not a blue coat is to be seen.

Heavy fighting has been & is perhaps now going on in Penna—What an anxious time for those who have friends engaged. I scarcely allow myself to think of it & yet thoughts will rise unbidden. God have mercy on them & spare them.

Sunday July 5th

Such a night as the last I hope never to pass again. The boys returned & as I feared Dick has been very ill²¹—is much reduced. I am thankful

¹⁸ Loulie McHenry of Shepherdstown, West Virginia. Charlie was Dr. Charles MacGill, Jr. a physician who served in the Confederate army throughout the war and who afterwards married Miss McHenry. Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr., to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

¹⁹ "The notorious Moseby" was John Singleton Mosby (1833-1916) famous cavalry leader of the Confederate army. For an interesting account of his services see Virgil Carrington Jones, *Ranger Mosby* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

²⁰ The buildings of the Hagerstown Female Seminary, opened in 1853 and operated by the Maryland Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, were used by the Confederates for a hospital.

²¹ Lutie's brothers Richard H. and William Kealhofer returned home from Franklin and Marshall College when the Confederates invaded Pennsylvania.

they are home. Willie [Kealhofer] & I sat up pretty late & I must have just gone to sleep when I was roused by Nancy's²² exclamation & the noise of wagons. I hastily threw on some clothes went down stairs and found Willie [Giles] & a Mr. Knox. Their company was detailed to guard these wagons with the wounded. My heart sickens at the thought of these noble men—wounded & suffering & no friendly hand near. Maryland has suffered deeply—dreadfully. Last night I felt as if my brain was on fire—the constant anxiety is fearful to one deeply interested. I've just heard that our dear gallant Henry Douglas has been mortally wounded.²³ I cannot, will not believe it. His last words—how they sing in my ears—"If I am wounded I will be carried straight here & you & your Ma must nurse me."

Monday July 6th, 1863

Afternoon At this moment fighting is going on in our very town & balls are whizzing through the streets. I wonder at myself, my composure—Oh God, of Heaven have mercy upon us and deliver us from this terrible war.

Wednesday 8th July

From seven o'clock yesterday morning until midnight I had company—amongst them Capt. Milledge²⁴ that Ma took such a fancy to last summer. He is a perfect gentleman. Willie G. came at tea time—left between 11 & 12 with Henry Bell & others. We were very anxious all night about Dick but this morning he seems easier & rather better. I shall see no company today. There was too much excitement yesterday. I saw nearly everybody yesterday. This morning the cavalry is all ordered to Frederick.

Tuesday July 14th.

Sunday was a day of intense anxiety. The Yankees came & took possession of the town. The Rebels had all gone. Yesterday all day the streets were crowded with horse & no one could go near the door as the street was used as a stable—about 6 p. m. they were removed, having been there without being fed or unsaddled for 24 hours—poor brutes they must suffer too. This morning an immense cavalry force dashed through town very boldly—it is reported the Rebels have crossed the river but we know nothing. Oh this dreadful suspense if I could only hear my friends were safe. I fear we've seen the very last of the Rebels. W.[illiam Giles] left Sunday was on duty all night & stopped a moment Sat Morn—dear

²² Nancy was a slave girl belonging to the Kealhofer family. Mrs. Harry W. Blount, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

²³ Henry Kyd Douglass was wounded at Gettysburg but recovered and lived until 1903. He was kept a prisoner for some time at the Theological Seminary in Gettysburg before being sent to Johnson's Island. See *I Rode With Stonewall*, pp. 254, 260.

²⁴ Captain John Milledge, Company D, First Georgia Regulars, Infantry.

knows where they all are now, safe I sincerely hope. Friday Eve we had the first direct intelligence from Henry [Kyd Douglas]. Benny Pendleton brought his things to Ma. Ewells Corps passed through that evening & about 10 p. m. General Ramseur rode up—dismounted, came to the window for a little while. He was in splendid spirits & indeed they all were. I must confess army movements are the most mysterious things in the world. I cannot comprehend.

Friday Aug 21st.

It has been a long time since I have written in here—not since the army left—although many things have happened during the interim the all absorbing topic has been the Hospital. We are not allowed to enter & even the 4 young men at the Sem²⁵ are not permitted to receive the attentions we would so gladly bestow. Mr. Hamilton's house is still used as Headqts.²⁶ Mr. Inness & Mr. Sanborn were here last month, Let Cooper²⁷ too, spent part of his time with us. Loulie [McHenry] left last Sat Week. I miss her so much. Poor Dr. Newell was treated in the most inhuman manner by the Yanks last Wed week. Had I not seen them dragging him on his knees I would not have believed it—but I saw with my own eyes. He remained insensible as we afterwards heard until he had nearly reached Chambersburg. Such brutality cannot go unpunished. I've had several letters from Henry[Kyd Douglas] written whilst at Gettysburg. He has been taken to Baltimore. Mrs. Hassel gave a party last night to Mrs. Gen. Smith. There goes the stage. I wish I was on it leaving here forever. I know it is unnatural not to have some affection for your birthplace but every spark of attachment has been crushed out. Sallie Rs friend Alice Ford²⁸ arrived last night. Emma Brent is in town. Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Brent, & Ida did so much for the wounded until their pass was revoked. Oh how many things these wretches will have to answer for. Poor Young Blakistone's²⁹ death & other scores without number. Oh that the hour of deliverance was at hand.

Tuesday Night Aug 25.

I've learned something new today—for the first time in my life I've had to work & got along very well. Nancy & Harriet³⁰ left Sunday night

²⁵ Wounded Confederate soldiers left behind by the retreating armies and taken prisoners by the Federals.

²⁶ Mrs. Hamilton was the former Clara Ferness of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. She had married William Tiffany Hamilton of Hagerstown, a Democrat, who served as governor of Maryland and representative and senator in Congress.

²⁷ Lehman Adams Cooper who married Nannie Kennedy of Hagerstown. After his wife's death Cooper moved to Texas.

²⁸ Sallie R. was the daughter of James Dixon and Louisa Roman. Her father was president of the Hagerstown bank. Alice Ford was from New York. Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

²⁹ S. H. Blackistone was a private in Company A, 1st Maryland Cavalry.

³⁰ Nancy and Harriet were slave girls. After a short stay in Pennsylvania they returned to Kealhofer's and remained until set free by the State. Nancy became the servant of Mrs. William Fell Giles, Jr. Mrs. Mary (Giles) Blunt writes that

for parts unknown & we've not yet been able to get anyone in their place. Sukey³¹ has remained faithful & Ma & I with Sukey & Nannie Diggs have done the work. Tomorrow we were to go to Fairview³² but from present appearances the party will be postponed—it has been raining all evening at intervals. We were shocked last night to hear of Mrs. Blackstone's death—another victim of this war. Will it ever end. Oh for quiet & peace once more. We did not appreciate the blessings of peace & it frightened & it took its flight—Heard from Loulie [McHenry] tonight. Margie [MacGill] is to be married in Oct.

Aug 30th

I did not go to church this morning Stayed home to take care of the house—We had a delightful day last Wed at Fairview & Friday a Party at Mrs. Roman's given to Miss Ford—it was a charming party & everyone enjoyed it. When evening came I felt very little like going, having just heard the MacGills³³ were to be sent South & other things—but I swallowed down my feelings & went. It does not seem a time for pleasure. I feel so anxious about things. Just now every thing seems dark—indeed since Jackson's death we had scarcely anything but reverses. I wish I could hear from some of my friends—but not one word can we hear. No one knows how this war affects me. It is never off my mind. I heard from Nan last night. She has been ill again & is going traveling. I should not think she is strong enough for a trip to Yonkers.

Monday Aug 31st/63

This morning Mrs. Swann, Alice MacGill, Mr. Brown & George Julius were sent to Balt—the two former on their way South. I had a pass & went to see them last evening.

"She was an honored member of our family, a really remarkable woman—She returned to Hagerstown with my sister and me after our mother's death. She is buried in our family lot." Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

³¹ Sukey also a slave girl.

³² Fairview was the home of Dr. William S. Pittenger on North Mountain about fourteen miles from Hagerstown on the road to Cumberland. It has a fine view of the Valley and the Potomac and was a favorite spot for picnics and parties.

³³ This was the family of Dr. Charles MacGill, Sr. Born in Hagerstown and a graduate of the Medical College of the University of Maryland, MacGill was a noted physician and public spirited citizen. He helped to establish the Hagerstown *Mail* and was a Van Buren elector in 1840. For his sympathy with the Confederacy he was arrested by Captain Waltmeyer on September 30, 1861. Dr. MacGill started up-stairs to see his wife who was ill. Several enlisted men seized him, two of whom the Doctor knocked down the stairway. His son Dr. Charles, Jr., came to his aid and received a sabre cut on his cheek. His daughter Alice then came to his aid with a horsewhip. MacGill was imprisoned for about a year and then released. When General Lee invaded Maryland in 1862, Dr. MacGill established a Confederate hospital in Hagerstown. When Lee withdrew he went to Richmond and was appointed a surgeon in the Confederate army. When the Federals returned to Hagerstown after Gettysburg they banished the entire MacGill family to the South and confiscated all their possessions.



PORT TOBACCO IN 1930

View looking Northeast toward High Street. Few of these buildings remain today.

Courtesy The Sun, Baltimore.



TOBACCO FIELDS SURROUND THE OLD COMPTON HOME, 1930

The house is now the property of Mrs. Alice L. Ferguson of Washington, D. C., who has completely restored it.

Courtesy C. & P. Transmitter through Mr. Oliver Martin.

PORT TOBACCO, LOST TOWN OF MARYLAND

By ETHEL ROBY HAYDEN

In a valley near the point where the Potomac River bends around the lower end of Charles County lies the site of Port Tobacco, for over two centuries the county seat of Charles County, and one of the most important of early Maryland little towns. A few houses remain, and here and there by scraping an inch of soil, one may uncover an ancient brick sidewalk; but mostly now the corn and tobacco fields cover the place where the town flourished.

The early history of Port Tobacco antedates Charles County by at least sixteen years.¹ About the year 1639, Father Andrew White, from the Jesuit mission at St. Mary's, converted to Christianity the Queen of the Potopaco Indians and 130 of her subjects. The Indians provided one of the largest wigwams for the priest, and while his journeys over the river ways among the Indians were frequent, the little Potopaco village was his home for the greater part of his stay in Maryland. Here he was joined in 1640 by Father Roger Rigbie, who wrote his superiors in England that they hoped to build a residence in Potopaco for it was more protected than Piscataway from the warring Susquehannocks and Senecas of the north.² In the long evenings, by the light of a candle, Father White composed a catechism in the native dialect and compiled a grammar and dictionary in the Indian language.³ This was before Eliot wrote his Indian Bible, so from Port Tobacco came the first English work on Indian philology in the new world.

¹ Much of the information in this paper has been drawn from Volumes VIII, LIII and LX, of the *Archives of Maryland*, especially the last two, which contain the early court records of Charles County.

² *Woodstock Letters*, LX, 343 *et seq.* See also Bernard U. Campbell, "Early Christian Missions among the Indians of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1:293-316 (1906).

³ J. C. Pilling, *Proof Sheets of a Bibliography of the Languages of the North American Indians* (1885).

We often read that the name comes from the fact that the town was a port from which tobacco was shipped to England; but the spellings in earliest documents show that the name was certainly a corruption of the Indian "Potopaco."⁴ It was spelled Potobag, Potopace, Potobac, Potobacke and other ways phonetically; the searcher becomes convinced that though Charles County owes much to tobacco, it was the red man and not the weed who gave a name to its most cherished town—a name which has stuck through the years with amusing persistency.

Early in the 17th century Job Chandler owned lands on the creek and in State documents the village was called Chandlers-town. Then the Assembly erected a town to be called Charles-town. First this town was to be laid off "in His Lordship's forest nigh Humphrey Warren's plantation on the Wiccomoco River," but nothing was done about it and the Assembly decided that Charlestown should be "at the court house at the head of Port Tobacco creek" but that "lot holders in the old Chandler's town shall retain their lots." Years later the Assembly again decided that the name Charlestown should be changed to Port Tobacco. All this was effected only on paper and meant not a thing to anybody. Throughout the years of the Assembly's decisions the town continued to be known as Port Tobacco.

Charles County has two distinct periods of history; that of the old Charles County and the Charles County of the present day. Old Charles County came into formal existence on November 2, 1650. In the winter of that year Robert Brooke arrived in Maryland with his second wife, 10 children, 28 servants and a commission dated London, September 20, 1649, making him commander of a county to be newly erected and called Charles. He also held a commission as a member of the Council of Maryland. Lands were surveyed, boundaries set and on November 2, 1650, the first Charles County came into being. Mr. Brooke agreed to bring more colonists to the new county at his own expense, and he commissioned his son, Baker Brooke, as commander thereof. After a few years the new county failed to work out in accord with the financial expectations of the Governor and Council and it was abolished.

On April 15, 1658, the new Charles County was erected. Court

⁴ A jutting of the water inland; a bay—Schoolcraft.

at first was held in inns and private houses in or near Port Tobacco and later the village became the established county seat. Soon it began to take on the air of an English village. The entire population of Charles County is estimated to have been only 800 in 1658, increasing to 1500 by 1665.⁵ The settlers must have been contracted largely in and around Port Tobacco, for the court records of that period and a few years afterward give the names of 30 or more householders in the town. Some of those mentioned in these records are Job Chandler; John Jenkins; William Robinson, carpenter; Henerie Moore; Robert Sly, merchant; Edward Parks; Henry Adams; George Thompson; Zachery Wade; Thomas Maris; Edmund Lindsey; Robert Troop; John Neuill; Thomas Hussey; Danell Gordion, constable; Robert Taylor; Simon Oursees; Joseph Harrison; Clemont Theobold; John Scherman; Francis Wine, cooper; Henry Mees; James and Robert Littlepage; Abraham Rouse; John Pain; Philip Bourne, merchant; Gils Glour, merchant; John Rowley; John Roberts and George English. There must have been other families whose names did not get into the court records.

There were two churches at or near Port Tobacco at the time, the Catholic church on the creek and the English church. Father Thomas Copley built a small house and a church on the creek about this time. The Rev. Mr. William Pusey Painter says Port Tobacco is the mother parish of Charles County and that the church there was standing as early as 1683, called Christ Church, of which the Rev. Mr. Moore was the first pastor.⁶ The church of which Mr. Painter speaks was already old in 1683 and stood on the west side of the creek. The Rev. Mr. Doughtie is often met with in records and has been mentioned as the first Episcopal pastor in Port Tobacco. He probably lived in Port Tobacco for a time, but it is unlikely he had a church there. He was none too savory a figure and doubtless had no connection with the Church of England. He is recorded as performing some ministerial duties, but to what sect he belonged has never been satisfactorily determined.

The town was built first on the west side of the creek and later drifted to the east side. The change may have been made be-

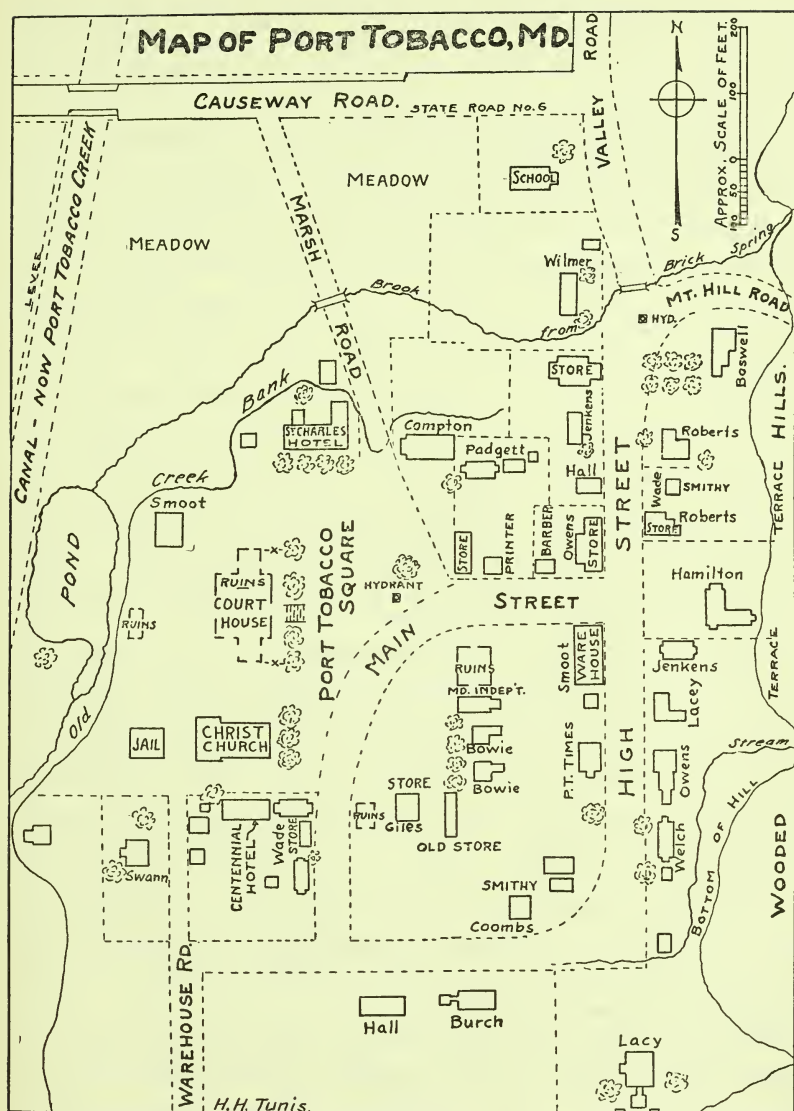
⁵ Introduction to the *Archives*, LIII, p. lxvii.

⁶ History of Durham Parish, Charles County (1894).

cause of the behavior of the waters and the erosion of the hills. Old Christ church had a grave yard on the west side which is now inundated. The tops of the stones were visible fifty years ago. An excavation of these old grave stones might well repay the student of Charles County history. Here may be the grave of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, for which historians have long made fruitless search. A case for it is built up by a recent statement that he is believed to have been buried in Charleston, S. C. The Maryland Historical Society has a letter from one Lt. Col. Jenifer, dated "Charles Town," Sept. 10, 1829. Its content shows that it was written from Port Tobacco, so the Jenifers must have used the Assembly name. Their plantation was but two miles away, they were Episcopalians and would naturally have been buried in Christ Church grave yard. This assumption must await the uncovering of the old stones in the marsh.

Even the court records of these early days convince us that life in Port Tobacco was by no means dull. The townspeople traded and visited, sang and prayed; slandered their neighbors and got haled into court for it; they played on the cittern, a sort of guitar, hunted and fished in the streams and river, and for the bounty the county offered, they shot the wolves that threatened their door yards. The price of a wolf's head was 100 pounds of tobacco and the public records oftentimes show bounties for three and four wolves at a time to one man. Port Tobacco handled its wolf problem with more wisdom than did Paris. Along the river there were pirates and rumors of pirates. The creek was wide and the ships sailed up to the edge of the town, bringing merchandise from England and sometimes strange foreign figures to create a sensation in the streets and inns; for Port Tobacco was "one of the ports set aside for the discharging and unloading of goods and merchandise out of ships, boats and other vessels," and odd cargoes drifted in from the strange ports of the world.

Down the creek "on Neal's land" to the southwest of the town, was the Naval Port of Entry where the goods were weighed and marked and the ships were loaded with the hogsheads of tobacco and sailed out to England. One may imagine a busy scene at the time of sailing, the hogsheads brought in boats and barges or rolled over the trails and the dusty paths which served as roads. Later they were hauled in ox-carts by the slaves and sometimes by Indians—the planter himself along on horseback



Drawn by Howard H. Tunis from sketch representing Port Tobacco about 1894 furnished by R. G. Barbour of Charles County, former resident of the town.

or on foot to see the clearing properly done. The site of this old port is still called "the old warehouse" and a summer development now boasts the romantic name of "Old Warehouse Landing."

The fact that Maryland maintained a rather consistent attitude of paternalism toward the Indian was shown particularly in the court at Port Tobacco. The townspeople managed to keep up good relations with the Indians and gave their grievances a fair hearing. One example is the occasion when Monatquund of the Piscataways came to the court to revive the league between his tribe and the English, that they might "eat and sleep and play in quiet, and that the old men may have their tobacco." Monatquund was reassured by the deputy lieutenant who asked to have the Indian who struck Benjamin Price delivered, there being doubt that the said Price died of the blow. Monatquund delivered him and testified that the said Price was in health twenty days after he struck him and was swimming and diving in the creek in the presence of Mr. Chandler's children when he came out of the water sick of an ague and died. The accused Indian's testimony was taken and he was freed of Price's death.

By 1674 a court house had been established in a house built by John Allen on an acre of land, which together with a prison to be built was contracted for at a cost of 20,000 pounds of tobacco. In the private records of the descendants of Thomas Hussey is found the statement that the land for the building of the first Port Tobacco court house was a gift from Hussey and a part of his plantation. In support of this is the statement in the *Maryland Archives*⁷ that the court house stood on the plantation of Thomas Hussey, including in the one-acre plot a prison, pillory and stocks. Later we find the court ordering a ducking stool to be set up at "Mr. Pope's Creek." It is doubtful this was ever used and it may not have materialized.

With the coming of the 18th century money from the tobacco fields began to pour into the pockets of the Charles County planters. The culture which flourished in England began to color life in the Colony. Mansions topped the hills which overlooked Port Tobacco and in the town the more primitive houses were being replaced by dwellings of pretensions. Townsmen, growing

⁷ Vol. VIII, p. 24-26.

thoughtful of their safety, appealed to the Assembly to have wooden chimneys abandoned, and "wattling fences" within the town were frowned upon.⁸

In 1740 when Governor Ogle, under Royal instruction, ordered a call to arms for the so-called "expedition against Cartagena" the town resounded with the fife and drum of the recruiting officer. Port Tobacco sent some men, we know, and though history is all too silent on Maryland's part in that expedition, it has supplied the name of at least one officer from Port Tobacco, Captain William Chandler.

As the community grew rich and ambitious, the sons, and sometimes the daughters, of the wealthier families were sent to England to be educated, or, in the case of the Catholics to Belgium and France. In the autumn of 1752 Thomas Kean, the actor-manager who had been playing in Williamsburg, took his company to Port Tobacco where *The Beggar's Opera* was presented and likely the entire repertoire of the summer season at Annapolis. Old newspapers give the list as *Richard III*, Dryden's *Spanish Friar*, Farquhar's *Sir Harry Wildair* and several farces. Kean was an artist of some talent himself and he had drawn from the professional group of William Hallam to complete a creditable company. Dunlap says it was Hallam's original company that played in Port Tobacco, but Hornblow shows this to be a mistake, and that it was the Thomas Kean Company. Both historians, however, agree that the company met with much success and that Port Tobacco was a town of "wealth and consequence" and provided for the drama a reception equal to any in the colonies.⁹ It is regretted that no record exists to show in what house the plays were held. Port Tobacco and Marlboro, like Annapolis and Williamsburg, probably sent Negro servants early in the evening to hold the seats until time for the play to begin. They must have had a pleasant hour hustling through the town in the best starched manner to sit in the improvised theatres until the play was ready. It was the day of Peg Woffington and

⁸ A wattling fence is described as follows: "A ditch and low mud fence was cast up, on the top of which was drove in stakes 3 feet high and a foot asunder, between which was wove green branches of cedar as close as possible with the bushes outward"—Robert Honyman, *Colonial Panorama, 1775* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1939). When the cedar had been well dried by the summer suns these fences must have been anything but beautiful.

⁹ William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre* (N. Y., 1832). Arthur Hornblow, *History of the Theatre in America* (Phila., 1919).

David Garrick, a brilliant one for the London stage; and the intense interest of London society in the restored drama was reflected in the life across the sea.

In 1753 Christ Church was rebuilt of brick on its original site; and a few years later there was read in the Assembly a bill to empower the justices of Charles County to levy on the taxable inhabitants of Port Tobacco Parish for money to support an organist for the church. Mr. Gustavus Brown, a native of Scotland and a prominent member of the parish, offered to give an organ if the parish would support an organist. About the same time the account books of Father George Hunter, pastor of the church at St. Thomas Manor, show that he paid an organist twenty pounds a year, the organ having been bought in Philadelphia at a cost of fifty pounds. Thus church music was an early institution in Port Tobacco, and the fact duly came to the attention of the Assembly.¹⁰

In the years before the Revolution diarists provided us with a wealth of data. A half day's ride on horseback from Laidler's Ferry, travelers from the south often stayed a day or two at Port Tobacco before continuing up the Post Road to Philadelphia and New England. Dr. Robert Honyman describes a short stay in the town. His journal, now the property of the Huntington Library, says he reached Port Tobacco an hour before sunset on March 2, 1775.

When I got there I went out into a field by the town and saw a company of about 60 gentlemen learning the millitary exercise, and then I went and called on Mr. Francis Walker, whose relatives are my father's near neighbors in Scotland. I took him to my lodgings where he stayed with me all night. Port Tobacco is about as big as New Castle [Delaware] and is seated between hills at the top of Port Tobacco Creek, which two miles below falls into the Potomac, and only carries small craft now. There are six stores in the place, four of them Scotch. Near the town is a Roman Catholic chapel, very elegant with fine house adjoining, where live four or five Jesuit priests. They have a fine estate of 10 000 acres and two or three hundred negroes [St. Thomas Manor]. There is also a very pretty church of free stone with an organ in it. There is also a warehouse for tobacco.

An interesting item of this account is mention of a free-stone church. This, of course, was Christ Church, though modern his-

¹⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, LVI, index: *Organist*.

torians say it was still of brick as late as the 19th century. The church was evidently new when Dr. Honyman saw it in 1775, and the same one of which this recent account is given: "Tradition has it that a building called Christ Church was removed and built on another site in Port Tobacco (probably the third or fourth building) in 1818. There is a record of its consecration by Bishop Kent on June 28, 1818. In 1884 this colonial church of brick was torn down and rebuilt of stone."¹¹ The confused years of the early republican period could well have delayed the consecration until 1818, but there is small doubt that this historian was wrong about the brick church in its final site on the east side of the creek.

Another diarist, Philip Vickers Fithian, describes Port Tobacco at some length about this time, but his account is none too rosy. He was on his way home to New Jersey from Nomini Hall on the Virginia side of the Potomac and says there was some epidemic raging in town, of which many had died. He was kept awake, he says, by slamming shutters at Mrs. Halkinson's Inn. He thought the houses were mostly one story buildings. We know from other records that this was not the case. Fithian was probably tired. He had a long journey ahead of him, we know that he was in love at the time, so he may have been able to see no good in anything which kept him from his destination. In fact, Port Tobacco at the close of the Revolution was absorbing sophistication like a sponge. Far from the scenes of battle, there were often young French and Continental officers in town.

A significant letter showing the social life of the time is owned by the Mitchell family of Hanson Hill, Charles County, a copy of which is preserved in the Maryland Historical Society. It is from James Craik, Jr. (probably a son of Dr. James Craik, surgeon general of the Continental Army), to his friend Walter Stone of the "Financier's Office," Philadelphia:

Strawberry hill July 2, 1782

My dear Friend:

Since my Last nothing but Mirth and Gaity has attracted the attention of the Polite Circle of Porttobacco, having Diverted themselves of thier former ceremony now suffer Friendship and Familiarity to reign with Proper Energy which I'll assure you renders it the most agreeable Circle I

¹¹ *Inventory of Church Archives in the District of Columbia*. (Washington, 1940), p. 123.

know Philad^a. not excepted—we have had a great Ball at the Widow Furry's about a Fortnight ago, which consisted of thirty-two Ladies and six Gentlemen a very great Disproportion, the Mortification of the poor Little Girls exceeded anything I ever saw, they could scarcely reconcile Dancing with each other, notwithstanding their propensity to that amusement, there was none of our family there except Miss Ewell, the old woman was greatly disapointed as she prepared a supper for twice the number. I have just returned from Virginia where I spent the Last Week very agreeably as we had a great race at Coalchester on Thursday and an Elegant Ball in the Evening (Given by our Friend Greason) where I had the pleasure of seeing the Beautiful Miss Blackburn & Miss Scott with all the Dumfreice Belles—we have had no marriages since I came home nor any prospect of any except Mr. Redgates & Miss Betsy King which I think will come to pass very soon, the Little alderman during her illness regularly paid her a visit every morning & Evening to comfort her & advise her to bear it with Christian fortitude—poor Watt H—— is very industriously seeking for a companion but finds one very difficult to be met with, though he says he is determined to have one against the fall—I am sorry to inform you that Miss Lee has been confined to her room these two weeks past with Sore Eyes a Disease which has been Epedemical here since my arrival here—I have not had the pleasure of seeing your Brother Michael yet as he has been at the Assembly ever since I left you tho I expect to see him this week as he just come home, your Sister was here a few Days since in perfect health & very Lovely—if you have not yet Purchased the Cloth for my Coat I will be obliged to you not to get it of this Color as I have one like it already & if you cannot purchase the Tambored Jacket & B—— you may get me enough of any pretty silk for a pattern & send it by the first opportunity tho I should prefer the former if cheap, let the cloth be of light colour—pray write me by the next post as I am very impatient to hear from you tell Mifflin I shall write him by the next post, inform me where Billy is as I have not yet heard from him give my Comp^s. to Miss Bond, Delany & Miller & all my acquaintances & I am w^t usual esteem your affec. Friend

James Craik Jun^r

PS Dolly Desires me not to forget to present her Love to you & is impatient to see you once more at Porttobacco.

[Endorsed:]

Dr. James Craik, Jun^r

July 2d 1782 Rec'd

& answered July 9th, 1782

Parties like the "great ball at the widow Furry's" were not unusual for the town made much of its inns, and from very early times there is record of entertaining in these public places. Not that hospitality was less in private homes, but the townspeople were friendly and eager for association with the passing stranger;



CHARLES COUNTY COURT HOUSE, PORT TOBACCO

From a sketch by Mr. R. G. Barbour.



THE LEADING HOTEL, ON PORT TOBACCO SQUARE

It boasted a dining room capable of seating 200 persons, a breakfast room, double parlor, card room and two bars, in addition to 25 large guest rooms.

From a sketch by Mr. R. G. Barbour.

and many worth while persons were to be met in the hostelryes. It was an interesting day in town when George Washington dined at the Inn on "baked sheep's head, right out of the river," or John Randolph of Roanoke, followed by his hunting hounds, strode the streets, protesting the second war with England. There was no telling when a celebrity might descend from the stage coach coming in from Annapolis over the Post Road and the town turned out at its noisy approach.

Writing of a tour of the United States, J. F. D. Smyth¹² says that the site of St. Thomas' Manor, "just by Port Tobacco is the most beautiful place and the most elegant situation in the world"; and though this is extreme praise, the Port Tobacco valley was and still is always a delight to English visitors, no doubt because it looks so like the English countryside. In 1784 it likely was very beautiful. On the hill at the south of the town is "Chandler's Hope," the home of William and Ann Neal; the house still stands, as does "Rose Hill" to the west. Built by Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, son of the first Dr. Gustavus Brown of "Rich Hill," "Rose Hill" is of brick overlaid with weatherboarding and has great chimneys at either end overlooking an elaborate boxwood garden.

Dr. Brown, beside being a judge and legislator, was a distinguished physician and his dissecting room in the basement at "Rose Hill," where he worked with a few medical students, was a mysterious region sending forth tall tales to chill the spines of local gossips. In the *Maryland Gazette* of September 17, 1789, appears this notice:

A young gentleman inclined to study medicine, and qualified for the purpose, will be received on reasonable terms by

Dr. Gustavus Brown
Port Tobacco.

He was a friend and frequent visitor at Mount Vernon, and, with Dr. Craik of LaGrange, was called to Washington's bedside the night that he died. Dr. Dick of Alexandria, was also in consultation and advised against bleeding, but Dr. Craik, prone to use the lancet freely, had overruled Dr. Dick, and when Dr. Brown reached the bedside, Washington had been bled. After Washington died Dr. Brown wrote to Dr. Craik that he was

¹² *A Tour of the United States of America* (London, 1784), II, 180.

now convinced that Dr. Dick was right and had his judgment been taken Washington might have been saved.¹³

To the south of "Rose Hill" was the home of John Hanson, "Mulberry Grove," less pretentious—its distinguished owner was a quiet man. He is called sometimes the first president of the United States, a title none too valid; he was president of the last Continental Congress and one of the earliest organizers of the machinery set up for American freedom.

With the 19th century the town settled in its final place on the east side of the creek and began to take an orderly pattern which was to attain its point of highest development as a local social and political center. Inns and ordinaries gave way to hotels; the St. Charles boasted 25 large bed rooms with dining room seating 200 people, breakfast room, card room, double parlors, kitchen and proprietor's suite with living and bed rooms and servants' quarters. Surrounded by great aspens, it lent dignity to the town square. Throughout the town stood homes solid and comfortable, their paneled rooms furnished with mahogany and black walnut. Lilies and roses from the gardens nodded in their Sèvres vases, over the five o'clock tea tables. Afternoon tea was a ceremony in Port Tobacco; and when the days grew busier in the lean years after the war, the ceremony was extended to the early supper. Even to-day Charles Countians may ask a guest to "tea" when they mean the last meal of the day.

Dinner was in the early afternoon, and many New Orleans dishes were favorites on the Port Tobacco tables. Two of the most popular of these were the rolled French omelet and stuffed ham. These dishes may have been introduced by some Gullah cook from down the coast. At all events they took fast hold of the Charles County appetite. Stuffed ham, an Easter treat, is ignored in Baltimore and nearly unknown farther north, but for the Charles Countian it is a sorry Easter table where the red and green dish is not.¹⁴

¹³ John T. Howard, "The Doctors Gustavus Brown," in *Annals of Medical History*, n.s., 9: 446 (Sept. 1937).

¹⁴ The ham is set to boil while a peck or so of greens, usually land cress and kale or tender young cabbage sprouts, with a touch of green garlic leaves, is chopped fine, and sprinkled with salt and pepper. When the ham is half done it is taken up and the chopped green is wilted in the boiling ham water, then squeezed tightly together and stuffed into incisions cut knife-wide to the bone of the half done ham, which is now put into a cotton bag and back in the boiler to finish cooking. When cold the slices are striped in a red and green delight.

Cool springs in the hills to the east furnished the town with water, piped into hydrants. A curious item appears in an issue of the *Maryland Gazette* of 1850 which says: "Port Tobacco is celebrated for its cold waters of Mt. Misery." What Mt. Misery was is not now known.

In 1848 Port Tobacco printed its first weekly newspaper, *The Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser*. Elijah Wells, Jr., was its publisher and printer. It remained a local institution as *The Port Tobacco Times* until it was absorbed in 1898 by *The Times-Crescent*, a step which signalized the fall of Port Tobacco and the rise of La Plata.

On November 14th and 15th, 1848, the first Agricultural Fair of the Charles County Agricultural Society was held at Port Tobacco. The farmers exhibited their stock and their crops, vegetables and fruits, the housewives their butter, bread, home-made soap, quilts and handwoven cloth. Mr. Charles H. Drury of Baltimore, exhibited a horse-power thrasher and other farm implements. The Hon. John G. Chapman made an address on the occasion, a copy of which, in booklet form, provides a fund of early agricultural data, as well as being a rare Port Tobacco imprint. At that time the lighter vehicles such as the carriage and the buggy, were not in general use by the country people. The great coaches were decaying in the stable buildings and most of the local travel was done on horseback, and the horse was a particular feature of these two autumn days of the first Charles County Fair. The committee reported the premium for the best saddle horse "was well contested for by Mr. George Dent and Mr. Charles A. Pye, but John Logan's pretensions were such that your committee could not overlook." The best mare for general purpose was a close tie between Mr. John Hamilton's "Queen of Clubs" and Col. William Thompson's "Lilly," but Mr. Marion Wallace's nag, not named, carried off the prize.

Letters of that time complain of the high prices in Port Tobacco. One housewife must send to Alexandria for paint to re-do her chairs, "as it is so high here at home," and a Baltimore visitor was clamorous because he had to pay 35 cents for a hair cut when he only paid 25 cents in the barber shops in Baltimore. Port Tobacco was never a manufacturing town like those in other counties, but had a vigorous retail trade with many stores for its

size. When the ships no longer brought the goods straight from England, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Alexandria became the markets, and merchandise came down over the waterways until after the middle of the 19th century when the Pennsylvania Railroad built its line to the Potomac.

When the Civil War came on and Maryland stayed within the Union, Port Tobacco, with all Charles County, was solidly behind General Lee. Details from both armies were occasionally encamped within a few miles of one another, sometimes on the same farm. When the Union drafted the planters the latter paid for substitutes. Those who did not cross the river and join Lee's army, went on pulling for the Confederacy.

The town enjoyed its intrigues, and up at "Rose Hill" grave doings went on. The Brown family had long passed away, and "Rose Hill" had come into possession of the Floyds, through their kinsman, Ignatius Semmes. Young Bob Floyd was with Lee's army, and Mrs. Floyd and Olivia (a black-eyed live-wire) were obliged to entertain Union officers who were billeted in the house and grounds. The young Olivia was in constant communication with the Army of Northern Virginia and many a night after the household was asleep she crept out in the dark, saddled her horse and galloped the rough miles to Laidler's Ferry with information or papers that must get through by blinker signal to Hooe's across the river. Back home by dawn, she was ready to amuse the distinguished northern "guests" at breakfast in the big dining room where her mother presided.

Rose Hill had a ghost; a huge blue dog which was supposed to guard a cache of gold hidden on the side of the hill when his pedler master was murdered one dark night of uncertain date. In her old age Miss Olivia liked to tell how the Negroes saw the dog come over the hill in a thundering cloud of smoke the day that Bob was killed. The bullet that killed Bob remained on the drawing room mantel, a grim souvenir, and the blue dog story is still alive today.

The girls of the town knitted and sewed and smuggled food to their men whenever they could, through the long four years until defeat was a stark certainty. Then on the morning of April 15, 1865, as the sun came over the hills, a detachment of soldiers from Hooper's Division marched into town with the news that

President Lincoln had been shot the night before and the assassin had crossed the Anacostia bridge heading for Southern Maryland. The town gasped. Only the night before at a local dance, a youth with too much to drink had boasted that "Abe Lincoln will be dead in the morning." There was doubtless nothing actually known of the tragedy but as the days went by and the soldiers searched the strange countryside, the neighing of Booth's horses in the nearby woods sounded a warning in every local ear.

The tragic excitement died down and Port Tobacco settled to the business of reconstruction. Prices in the stores which had been higher than in Baltimore and Alexandria now soared to heights unthinkable. Cotton and wool were hard to come by for the home weaver and calico was higher than silk had been formerly, sugar was 25 cents a pound; and the planter was sick with dismay when he must go into town to buy meat for his table. He, the country squire, whose fields and flocks had amply fed the slaves, the large family, the constant guest, must now go shopping for food like any poor white. He was no longer a self-supporting entity, his own hands must now provide him with a living. But most of them faced about with courage. The returned soldier gayly joked about starting life over with one old mule, the girls cooked and sewed and gathered about the square piano in the evening to sing sentimental ballads.

A modern novelist laid a scene in Port Tobacco and had her characters walk in the Duke of Gloucester St. and others of high sounding names. This was "bad properties" for old Port Tobacco, for the town was never pretentious. The streets were Causeway Road, Valley Road, High Street, Main Street, Marsh Road, Old Post Road and such serviceable names. The town square held the lovely old Christ Church, the brick Court House, the St. Charles and the Centennial hotels, a number of lesser buildings, and in a triangular space made by the intersection of Main Street and Marsh Road, the town hydrant. Lawyer's offices, newspaper offices and some stores faced the square. Some of the inns were pine paneled and the madeira and porter which passed over their polished counters enlivened a wit to match the best. Good talk was a cherished thing in Port Tobacco and many a local Dr. Johnson is still quoted in families with a background from those days.

Court days were special times. All the countryside came to town; the hotel dining rooms were filled, and for many years after the war, out on the square "Aunt Nancy Higdon" served farm dinners, fancy cakes, and buttermilk to the crowd in the streets. She cooked the food at home up in the "forest," took it to town in huge baskets where it was served with immaculate care from improvised trestle tables set up on the green for "Cote days."

Late in the century politics began to threaten the foundations of the old town. La Plata, three miles inland, was growing up and wanted the county seat. Its removal became a political issue with much bitterness attendant. Finally in 1892, the records were removed and one night the court house took fire and burned. Those opposed to the removal rent their garments and called names; but the court house was gone. Where would it be rebuilt? Feeling ran so high that the town itself was out of the question. As a compromise Chapel Point was agreed upon as the lesser of the evils. An election was called in June, 1895. La Plata won by a large majority and to the new village the court house went. Old Christ Church was taken down stone by stone and rebuilt in La Plata not far from the new court house. Business followed the court and residents followed business; the old houses came down one by one until now the streets and squares are corn and tobacco fields. The Dr. Neal house is preserved as the home of Mr. George Wade, a descendant of the first Zachary Wade. The old Padgett house and one other that has been recently restored by Mrs. Alice Ferguson, are all that remain of the original town. The little Baptist chapel was constructed in later years from a wing of the old court house. Even the old hydrants are gone and an artesian well gushes water for the thirsty traveler who comes to visit this deserted village where always it seems to be Sunday afternoon.

DISCOVERY OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY, 1525-1573

By LOUIS DOW SCISCO

Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, judge in the Spanish Indies at Santo Domingo, obtained a royal patent for colonizing the Carolina coast. His first move was to send forth his shipmaster Pedro de Quexos to search for harbors, and it was this shipmaster who discovered the Bahía de Santa María, a place the history of which is closely interlinked with the discovery of the Chesapeake Bay. The coastal exploration of Quexos was done in 1525. Although his voyage report is lost, his discoveries are reflected in the official map of Diego Ribero published in 1529 in Spain. In this map Cape Hatteras is recognizable as Cabo Trafalgar, and a little north of it is the Bahía de Santa María, a small broad-mouthed bay, more wide than deep, and fronted by petty islets. Apparently it was the modern Currituck Sound, with an inlet which had not yet been closed by the shifting sands. North of the bay Quexos saw beaches, but he seems to have gone no farther. There is no indication that he got as far as the Chesapeake entrance.

Ayllon made his settlement on the coast in 1526. When he died soon afterward the colony fell into dissension and broke up. John Gilmary Shea, writing in 1883 and in 1885, asserted that Ayllon's colony was in Virginia on the site where Jamestown later appeared, but he offered no reasons for his claim. More critical historians agree that the colony was in the Carolinas south of Cape Hatteras. Chesapeake Bay had not yet been found.

For many years after Ayllon's effort the Spaniards paid no attention to the Carolina region. All their colonizing energies in northern areas were given to New Spain (modern Mexico), where

they were rewarded by Aztec wealth and by the discovery of richly productive silver mines in Durango and Zacatecas. Suddenly, in 1560, came an alarming rumor that the French had found a way to reach the mines of New Spain.

As the story went, a French ship captain, nosing about in the region near Newfoundland, found an unknown passage and followed its course. His crew sailed 400 leagues more or less, until stopped by land. Going ashore here, the mariners found another salt-water passage beyond the barrier. They built four small vessels and sailed onward 300 leagues, stopping when they found a populous country with abundant food. They were now, they learned, due north of Mexico City, and by using boats they could have reached the Spanish mines of Zacatecas. However, they quarreled with their hosts just then and found it best to leave. They returned to the barrier, regained their ship, and got back to familiar Atlantic waters.

In New Spain this rumor caused some anxiety in official quarters. The colonial geographer Andres de Urdaneta was greatly interested and thought the rumor should be tested by exploration. Pedro Menendez de Aviles, commander of the transatlantic fleet, was at this time in New Spain, resting between voyages. He, too, was called into consultation. It was agreed that the viceroy should send out an exploring party and that Pedro Menendez should present the matter in Spain when he returned.

Just before this stir, in 1559, a shipmaster had arrived in New Spain bringing an Indian captive from a far region. This shipmaster, whose name is unrecorded, had made a stop on an unfamiliar mainland coast, and on coming away he had kidnapped the brother of the local chief. Apparently he reported his landfall as at Bahia de Santa Maria. This incident fell into place with the rumor of the new ship passage. The captive, thus brought from the northern latitudes near the passage, was promptly converted, was treated with consideration, and was baptized with the viceroy's own name, Luis de Velasco.

The intended exploring party was abandoned, but when Menendez sailed for Spain in 1561 he carried with him Don Luis the Indian. In Spain the Indian was brought to the royal court and for a time was the king's guest, but the story of the French ship passage seems not to have impressed those who governed and

nothing was done. In the end Don Luis became a retainer of Menendez in Spain and the ship passage seems to have been forgotten for a time.

Two years passed. Menendez had an only son, who had become a fleet commander assisting his father. In 1563, on his homeward voyage from the colonies, the son's ship disappeared near Bermuda. No one knew whether the ship foundered or was driven to land, and Menendez felt that perhaps his son was somewhere on the Florida mainland awaiting rescue. Probably it was at this time that Menendez turned again to Don Luis with queries about the continental coast. It is doubtful if Don Luis had any great command of Spanish speech as yet, but he seems to have been able to impart ideas. His home land was called Ahawken. (In Spanish usage that name became Ajacan or Axacan, or the short form Jacan.) Menendez believed that it was situated at Bahia de Santa Maria and in 37° latitude. This belief he now linked with the colonial tale of the French transcontinental passage. It seemed to him that Bahia de Santa Maria must lie close to the land barrier in the ship passage, and thus Ahawken or Axacan would be a strategic point commanding the new route from Europe to the trade of the Orient. So now Menendez formed the ambitious plan of becoming master of the Atlantic seaboard and of the new trade route to Asia.

In 1564 the Spanish government was no longer apathetic about mainland exploration, for reports had been coming in that the French were finding coastal bases from which they could prey upon Spanish traffic. Menendez filed a memorial in which he enlarged on the need for occupation of the Florida coast as defence against the French. In this paper also he told the story of the transcontinental ship passage, as he had heard it in New Spain. With little delay he received his desired patent. It gave him control of the mainland coast from Florida Keys to Terra Nova (Newfoundland). In September 1565 he landed his armed colonists at San Agustin. Very promptly he moved against the French colonists who had preceded him and wiped them out by capture and massacre. On October 15, just after the second massacre, he wrote a letter to Spain. In it he said that he intended to sail, in the coming spring, to Santa Elena (in modern South Carolina) and to erect there a fort for 300 soldiers. After that he would proceed to Bahia de Santa Maria and build there another fort,

leaving 200 men. He explains further about this second fort.

This must be the key to all the fortifications in this land, since, beyond here, as far as Terra Nova, there can be no occupation, because, to the north of this harbor, in the region within 80 leagues, would be found some mountains, and at the foot of them an arm of the sea which extends to Terra Nova and which may be navigable 600 leagues. This arm of the sea enters by Terra Nova and ends its course 80 leagues within the land of the Indian, which is this bay of Santa Maria which is in 37 degrees; and within a half-league there is another arm of salt water that goes into the land east-north-east [west-north-west] which, as is supposed, extends to the South Sea.

In this confusing geographic portrayal by Menendez one may dimly see, from the viewpoint of Don Luis, the length of the Chesapeake stretching to the foothills at the north, and the estuary of James River penetrating west-north-west into the land. To the mind of Menendez, however, it was the transcontinental passage leading in one direction to the Newfoundland region and in the other direction toward Zacatecas and the Pacific. And his new fort would keep the route safely under Spanish control.

Before the spring came, Menendez visited Havana and there talked with Andres de Urdaneta, who was passing through. The geographer evidently confirmed him in his plans, for in January one of Menendez' letters said, "If I am able I will send a captain with the Indian to the Bahia de Santa Maria, so that by the sight of his own eyes he may see this arm of the sea." In 1566, about August, an exploration party went forth. It was made up of soldiers and Dominican friars, with Don Luis as guide. But neither soldiers nor friars had any liking for their task. They fixed up an understanding with their pilot and sailed happily for Spain, explaining later that on account of bad winds they were quite unable to reach their goal at Santa Maria.

Now that the French menace had been disposed of, governmental apathy closed in on Menendez and his work. The northern fort was not again attempted. Menendez sadly needed help. He complained that he had to feed the garrisons with food intended for his colonists, and to pay soldiers from his own purse instead of promised government funds. No French had ever raided Zacatecas and perhaps Menendez now had doubts about the supposed northern passage.

When next the Bahia de Santa Maria became an objective the purpose was religious. Dominicans had carried Don Luis away to

Spain and the same order of friars brought him back to Havana, intending to use him in mission effort, but their project fell through. The Jesuits now took the Indian in charge and planned a mission to Axacan. In September, 1570, the mission party was ready. They were offered a guard of soldiers, but the mission head refused it. He said that the example set by soldiers usually was not such as encouraged piety among native converts. The missionaries were carried northward to the home land of Don Luis and their vessel returned to its base.

The Axacan mission, as it is called, was short lived. Don Luis helped the missionaries to find a location and then he deserted them five days later. Without him they could not talk with his people. In some way they managed to get along through the winter of 1570-71 until February, and then they tried to win back Don Luis to their service. The immediate result was that Don Luis and his fellows murdered every member of the mission except a boy that was with them. A little too late came a supply ship for the missionaries and hurriedly returned to its base with news of disaster.

In 1572 Pedro Menendez came at last to Axacan in person, bringing a guard of soldiers. Making contact with the natives, he rescued the mission boy and learned what had occurred. Afterward he identified eight of the killers and hanged them, but Don Luis escaped capture by flight. Menendez did not arrange for a fort, and nothing is said in current documents of any search for the ship passage by him.

The geographical position of Axacan is not revealed by the Jesuit letters which tell the story of the mission, nor do they mention the Bahia de Santa Maria. One letter is dated at Bahia de Madre de Dios, but with no explanation of the name. Such documents as may be cited for the location of Axacan bear dates many years later. Some fifteen years after the mission fiasco, English colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh established themselves at the edge of Pamlico Sound. In 1600 a deposition made in Florida by one David Glavin states that he had been one of Raleigh's colonists and that the place where they settled was at Jacan in 36° latitude. Again, in 1606, the treasurer of Florida wrote that his brother, while in Spain, gave out information about Bahia de Santa Madre de Dios, together with such news as he had about the English colony there. The Axacan region, then, was at Pamlico Sound or thereabouts, and was at or near to 36°

latitude. The Chesapeake Bay was still unknown to Pedro Menendez and his men.

Whether Pedro Menendez at his visit in 1572 was still interested in the ship-passage story is not clear, but it is certain that he at once planned for a re-survey of the mainland coast. In November he was again in Spain, where he shortly obtained a grant of the Gulf coast, extending his control from Tampico, in Mexico, to Newfoundland. From Spain he sent his nephew Pedro Menendez Marques to Florida in 1573 to explore along the Atlantic seaboard.

Marques began his survey work at the Florida Keys and moved from there northward, re-checking well-known harbors and looking for new ones. Such account of his voyage as survives is due to the chronicler Barcia. Coming up the coast to Cape Hatteras the explorer noted the change in coastal trend there, as other explorers had done before him. Beyond the cape he noticed several inlets, "one of them very good." Quexos, too, had noticed one here in 1525 and had called it Bahia de Santa Maria. Seven leagues beyond the good inlet Marques came to a broad opening, and this, he decided, was the Bahia de Santa Maria. He figured it as being at $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ latitude, making the error, usual to mariners in his time, of getting his latitude too high. He had really found the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, through which exactly runs the parallel of 37° latitude. How far Marques went in examination of the Bay is not told by Barcia. Only his phrase "many rivers and harbors" reveals that he did anything of the sort. Barcia's text deals only with the Bay entrance.

. . . the harbor and bay of Santa Maria, which is three leagues wide, wherein one enters to the north-northwest; and within it there are many rivers and harbors where one may anchor by either shore. At the entrance, near the land on the south side, there are nine to thirteen fathoms of depth, and at the north side are five to seven. Two leagues out to sea there is the same depth to the south and to the north, and more sandy than within; and going in by the channel from nine fathoms to thirteen; and within the port, by fifteen and sixteen fathoms, he found places where the lead did not come to rest.

Marques must certainly have recognized the potential value of his new-found bay, but it was a treasure that could not be used. It lay outside of the Spanish ship lanes and it was too far from any colonial base to be used in normal expansion. The news of its discovery was buried in secrecy, perhaps purposely, or perhaps

by mere neglect. No one seems to have been interested in a possible transcontinental passage. Pedro Menendez, who might have been interested, was in Spain when Marques made his voyage, and a year later, in September 1574, he died there, carried off by a very brief illness.

When knowledge of the Chesapeake finally reached the European public it came through English channels instead of Spanish. Sir Walter Raleigh's colonists came in 1585 to settle at Pamlico Sound. In the spring of 1586 the colony governor held prisoner for a time an Indian chief whom the governor questioned about the geography of the country about. From him the governor learned that a large bay lay to the northward of the colony. On an island of this bay lived an important chief who possessed quantities of pearls obtained from nearby waters. The island could be reached by ascending the Chowan River three days and then marching overland northeasterly four days. The governor, pearl conscious, planned to investigate. He decided to send a bark by sea to find the island, while a land force would move up the Chowan and overland toward the same objective. Before this plan could be executed, however, the whole colony departed for England and the Chesapeake went unvisited.

The returning colonists brought back with them to England a chart of the colonial region made by Ralph White. On its northern edge was represented the reported bay. White had placed the bay entrance in the right position, but the outline of his bay bore no resemblance whatever to that of the real Chesapeake. Richard Hakluyt, the geographer, was greatly interested in this new feature. He wrote to Raleigh urging that if colonization were renewed an effort should be made to occupy at the new bay instead of at the former site. It probably was Hakluyt who furnished a copy of the White chart to Theodore De Bry when the latter published a volume of travels in 1590 at Frankfort. De Bry put the chart into print with the new bay marked "Chesepioci sinus." Thus the world learned at last that Chesapeake Bay existed. Even then its actual extent was not known until Captain John Smith made his tour of its waters.

Pedro Menendez Marques, real discoverer of the Chesapeake, has been much cheated of fame by the unfortunate error that has credited the Axacan missionaries with prior occupation of the Bay region. The error began with Robert Greenhow of Washington,

who wrote about the matter in 1848. Heeding the basic facts that Chesapeake Bay actually is at 37° latitude and that Pedro Menendez had declared Axacan to be at 37°, Greenhow naturally supposed the Axacan mission to have been at the bay. It was so reasonable that other writers followed his lead without question. The writer who most publicized the mission was John Gilmary Shea of New York, who not only accepted Greenhow's view but labored to find a specific location for the mission site. In his earlier comment in 1859 he thought that the mission was "probably near the head of the Bay." Later he came to think that the name Occoquan was a modern form of the name Axacan. In 1872, therefore, he argued that the missionaries sailed up the Potomac River to Occoquan, and from there were led overland to a site on the Rappahannock. This view he reiterated in various writings. Once, in 1875 he narrowed it to the district about Fredericksburg. In 1883 there was a published suggestion by Professor A. L. Guss that the North East River in Cecil County was the logical place for the Axacan mission. In 1907 James Mooney of the Smithsonian Institution casually guessed that the mission was on lower James River. On this point Spanish sources give little help. The documents on the Raleigh colony are entirely silent about the mission, for Raleigh's patent authorized settlement only in regions not previously occupied by other nations.

The Menendez family was native to the Asturias region in Spain, and Pedro Menendez Marques was born in the Asturias about 1528. He is repeatedly described as a nephew of Pedro Menendez, but his parents are curiously unmentioned. Sometime in early life he entered on a seafaring career. By 1557 he had reached command of a vessel. In that year he was captured in a sea-fight with the French and was kept in France for some time as a prisoner. When Pedro Menendez lost his only son in 1563 his nephew seems to have succeeded to the son's place at Menendez' right hand. Marques aided his uncle in preparing the Florida expedition of 1565, and when Menendez went to Florida it was Marques who took the supply ships to Havana, the supply base for the Florida venture. From Havana, in 1567, Marques sailed against hostile tribesmen of southwestern Florida. At Charlotte Harbor he seized and beheaded the treacherous chief Don Carlos, and at Tampa Bay he installed a garrison to maintain peace. Again, in 1568, he sailed from Havana to beat back

Indians who were besieging a garrison near modern Miami. In 1569 Pedro Menendez made him his deputy-governor over the Florida settlements.

In his colonizing efforts the elder Menendez was bothered by lack of co-operation on the part of the Cuban governor. This he remedied in 1570 by getting himself appointed governor of Cuba, where he installed Marques as deputy-governor for both Cuba and Florida. As executive it fell to Marques to expedite the Jesuit mission to Axacan in the fall of 1570. The doubled duties of Marques as acting governor did not last long. Menendez brought a new governor to Florida in 1571 and Marques was relieved also of his Cuban office in early 1572. He now returned to Spain with his wife and went to visit his old home in Asturias. A suspicious revenue official took occasion to describe him as he arrived in Spain at this time. "He is the manager of everything and very keen witted. He is of medium height, heavy, thickset, has a black beard, and is about 44 years old, more or less."

Marques did not remain long unoccupied. Early in 1573 he was in Madrid giving testimony about Indian hostilities in Florida. When this was over, he sailed for Havana, and from there made his survey of the continental coast which ended in discovery of the Chesapeake. In 1574 he received a naval command for service in the West Indies, cruising against corsairs who were preying upon Spanish commerce. He spent three years in this work.

Meanwhile Pedro Menendez died in Spain in 1574. Some time before his death Menendez had obtained a royal grant of the Gulf coast area from Florida westward to Tampico in Mexico. By his will he bequeathed his rights in this area to Marques. It was a gift more magnificent than he knew, for, unknown to both of them, it carried legal ownership of the Mississippi River and the vast basin of the Mississippi. Marques apparently made no effort to occupy his legacy and his rights soon lapsed.

As the year 1576 was closing, Marques and his nine ships came into port at Seville. Almost immediately he was appointed commander of the outgoing transatlantic fleet, but before his sailing time his superiors had another thought and made him governor of Florida. On July 1, 1577, he reached the colony and took control. Some biographers assert that he was made *adelantado* of Florida at this time, but they are in error, confusing him with his kinsman Pedro Menendez 2nd. For several years Marques ruled

Florida vigorously. Forts were put in order, negro slaves were brought in, troublesome tribesmen were forced to submission, corsairs were captured or driven off, and missions were given full support. One great indignity came to him, however, when Sir Francis Drake landed his men at San Agustin in 1588 to plunder and burn the town.

In 1589 Marques was relieved of his governorship, after twelve years of service. The royal council for a time in 1590 dallied with the idea of sending him to establish a fort at Jacan to keep the English away, but they gave up the idea. Again Marques was put in command of the transatlantic fleet, and the records mention his comings and goings with the silver ships that brought Spain's wealth to Europe. According to one of his biographers he was killed by the Indians in Florida in 1592, but this is another error. He was still sailing in charge of the oceanic fleet as late as 1595. After that year his name disappears from current affairs. No mention of his death has been found, other than the erroneous one.

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THREE WAR LETTERS

Edited by ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

Present day history as recorded in letters from distant sons has made Marylanders conscious of older letters from earlier warriors. The same anxieties, the same reasons for not writing home, the same enthusiasm for the chase, are expressed in fading ink on crumbling paper. It is to be hoped that letters from the present war will be as carefully preserved so that future readers may know in this very personal way of the struggles and aspirations of another generation.

I

Colonel Richard Kidder Meade first raised a company of soldiers in his home county, Prince George's, in Virginia, October, 1775. His Revolutionary services began with the seizure of the arsenal in Williamsburg. In 1777 Washington selected him as one of his aides-de camp and in this important and interesting capacity he served until the close of the war in 1783. He retired to Frederick County, Virginia, to live the life of a planter and is probably best known to posterity as the father of Bishop William Meade of the Episcopal Church.¹

Tap[p]an, Oct. 3rd, 1780

I wrote to you, my good friend, I know not the precise time but in the course of last month, on a subject that keeps me anxious. I have been absent for some days with the Genl. on an interview between him and the Genl. & Admiral of the French Army and Navy.² On my return I expected to have been gratified with a line from you in answer. I have however now been here 5 to 6 days and cannot find a single line from you. You know I have patience and I shall exhibit it on this occasion as I know you are well employed and I am confident there was nothing offensive in

¹ The letter quoted is in possession of Mrs. George E. Baughman of Baltimore, the great great granddaughter of R. K. Meade. Recipient of letter unknown.

² Comte de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Ternay having recently arrived with the French fleet at Newport, R. I. met Washington and his staff at Hartford, Conn., Sept. 23rd.

my letter and that there is still time for your advice. I am prompted now to give you this hint, not because I conceive you will not give me an answer but in consequence of a recent infernal conduct that has lately taken place,³ which you must have been warned of before now. This circumstance, tho I have ever looked on Arnold as an avaricious unprincipled villain, has added fresh proofs, from the pain I have felt on the occasion to evince me that I have no more business in Public Life than I have to cut the throat of you, my friend.

As I expected to see you not at a very distant period and you will have been informed of this black affair, tho not of all the particulars of it, I shall reserve them until then. I will only add that poor André the British Adj. Genl. was executed yesterday,⁴ nor did it happen my Dr. Sir (tho I would not have saved him for the world) without the loss of a tear on my part. You may think this declaration strange as he was an Enemy, until I tell you that he was a rare character. From the time of his capture to his last moment his conduct was such as did honor to the human race. I mean by these words to express all that can be said favorable of man. The compassion of every man of feeling and sentiment was excited for him beyond your conception. This affair I know will furnish us when we meet with matter for some hours conversation, and I will, on my way to Virginia allot as much time as possible to this, and other purposes.

Both you and the good Woman are entitled to all the respect and friendship that I can bestow. Remember me sincerely to her and be sure, my dear friend, that I am

Yours

R. K. MEADE

I inclose you thimble.
Perhaps the Madam will
accept it.

II

The Navy attracted many young Marylanders during the years of disagreement with the British. Serving for two years as Midshipman on the U. S. S. *United States*, Henry Knapp Randall wrote the following letter to his father, John Randall of Annapolis. Later when his ship was bottled up in the Thames River off New London apparently for the duration, he resigned from the Navy, returned to his native State to enter the Maryland militia and was present with two of his brothers at the disastrous defeat at Bladensburg. Following the war he held various Government positions,

³ Major General Benedict Arnold in command at West Point arranged to surrender that fort to the British but the plot was discovered by the capture of Major André, Sept. 23, 1780.

⁴ Major John André, Aide-de Camp and Adjutant General to Sir Henry Clinton, was hanged as a spy at Tappan, N. Y., Oct. 2, 1780.

the last being Chief of the Bureau of Revolutionary Pensions in Washington, where he died at the age of 84.⁵

New London June 4 [1813]

My Dear Father:

We spoke and brought too a Spanish Brig yesterday the Capt. of which informed us that he was spoken by the *Essex*⁶ near the grand Banks.

On Tuesday last our squadron weighed and stood out to sea. We had just got clear of the land when the Enemy was discovered standing to the west to intercept us, we stood on until nearly within gunshot, when finding it impossible to pass them and being unwilling to wrisk a battle, we hauled our wind up the sound; after a chace of six hours the *Macedonian*⁷ and *Hornet*⁸ began to fall astern and made signals for permission to put into New London, which they obtained and accordingly bore away for that place. The *Hornet* still being in danger, we bore down to her relief and exposed ourselves to the Enemys fire which we returned, and continued our course and arrived safe, the Enemy having to our great surprise backed ship and stood out. We now lay under the fort with springs on our cables and have landed men and guns, and thrown up fortifications opposite New London for our protection.

We have just received a correct account of the engagement between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*; ⁹ a few minutes after the commencement of the engagement the *Shannon* having thrown a quantity of combustibles on board the *Chesapeake* boarded her in the smoke with one hundred and fifty men, which they soon drove below, and crowded all sail in pursuit of the enemy, who had by this time hauled off; the result of the chase is not known. The papers also state that the British made an attack on Sackett Harbour,¹⁰ but were repulsed with considerable loss.

I remain dear father

your affectionate son

H. K. RANDALL ¹¹

⁵ Original letter in possession of Richard H. Randall of Baltimore, great nephew of the writer.

⁶ *U. S. S. Essex*, frigate, 32 guns, Capt. David Porter.

⁷ *Macedonian*, frigate, 38 guns, had been captured the previous year off Madeira by *U. S. S. United States*, under Stephen Decatur and brought to New York to be refitted.

⁸ *U. S. S. Hornet*, sloop of war, 18 guns, had achieved fame under Capt. James Lawrence and was now commanded by Capt. Biddle.

⁹ *U. S. S. Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence, answered the challenge of Capt. Broke of *H. M. S. Shannon* June 1, 1813, and in the fifteen minute fight that ensued had 48 men killed and 98 wounded to the enemy's 26 killed 58 wounded. The *Chesapeake* was captured and Lawrence killed.

¹⁰ Battle of Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., May 29, 1813. A British squadron on Lake Ontario attempted to destroy this main supply base of the Americans on the northern frontier but was repulsed.

¹¹ The *U. S. S. United States* from which this letter was written was a frigate, 44 guns, commanded by Capt. Stephen Decatur and was kept a prisoner in the Thames River, Conn., by the watchful British fleet until the end of the war.

III

Many a family in Maryland was divided over the issues of the Civil War. The Southern cause was, however, far the more popular among the young men of Baltimore, and to the Confederate group belonged John Eager Howard Post. He was the son of Eugene Post of New York and of Margaret Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Governor George Howard of Maryland and granddaughter of Colonel John Eager Howard of Revolutionary fame. Twenty years old at the outbreak of the war he had enlisted as a private in Company H, 1st Maryland Infantry (Capt. William H. Murray), organized at Richmond to be part of an independent regiment attached to the Confederate Army. Subsequently transferred to the Confederate government, the 1st Maryland became part of Elzey's Brigade and at the time of writing had been assigned to Brig. General George H. Stuart, a Marylander. Young Post was later promoted to be 1st Lieutenant and made Adjutant of the 1st Maryland Cavalry and served with this outfit until the surrender. He married Rebecca Lloyd Nicholson and died in 1876, leaving only one child who lived to maturity.¹²

Staunton, June 17, 1862

My precious Mother

I am still spared thro' a succession of hard fought battles ¹³ and by the blessing of God have not received even a scratch altho at different times I have been as close as twenty feet to the enemy. I cannot help feeling deeply thankful to a kind Providence for my safe deliverance thro' so many trying scenes and especially as it has pleased him to grant us a victory in every instance.

Our Regiment is now at the above place, having come here for the purpose of recruiting; its numbers having been reduced to 150 men out of 800 its original number. Two companies have served their time out, and gone into other branches of the service, the rest of the men have been either killed or wounded or strayed off and never returned. Our time expires tomorrow. I have not yet determined what I shall do, having been advised by Uncle G. not to reinlist until I see him; but I hope and think the Regiment will be reformed. I am now in the American hotel and have just finished reading a Richmond paper containing extracts from Northern papers in reference to our campaign in the Valley: among them Genl. Banks ¹⁴ official report of his retreat, and more outrageous and villanous

¹² The letter is from the collection of the Maryland Historical Society, gift of writer's wife.

¹³ Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign.

¹⁴ Nathaniel P. Banks, Gov. of Mass. 1858-61, Maj. Gen. U. S. A.

lies it is impossible to imagine. I think it due to you and all our Southern friends that you should at least have some idea of the complete victory we have gained; so I propose giving you a brief account of what we have done.

On the 15th of last month we left Swift Run Gap in the Blue Ridge, opposite Harrisonburg, and took our march down the Shenandoah towards the enemy. After marching and countermarching a great deal, early in the morning of the 23rd we were joined by Jacksons army about 15 miles from Front Royal. His whole army filed past us cheering and in the best possible spirits. Even up to that time they had fought several battles, and many were barefooted, carrying their boots in their hands, their feet being blistered from long and continual marching. After they all passed, Col. Johnson¹⁵ made us a very inspiring speech, in which he informed us that we were honored with the advance of the Army, and reminded us of our friends confined in the dungeons of Fort Warren.¹⁶ When he had finished a shout rent the air and off we went under the impression that Baltimore was our destination. We marched thru the whole army which had halted along the Road and soon found our selves in the advance. . . . We hurried on toward the town, Front Royal, a half mile distant, and as we hove in sight they fired upon us from the hospital windows and doors, wounding six of our Regiment, none of our company. We charged them, and such getting out, you never did see. We drove them thro' the town, all the time howling like demons. I love to think of all the nice things the young ladies offered us going thro', and hate to think how foolish I was not stopping and getting some. Indeed the ladies were perfectly regardless of danger, balls flying in every direction, but there they stood, pointing out where some Yankees had hidden and encouraging us in every way. Now my dear Ma I don't intend to exaggerate, but to tell you nothing but facts as they occurred before my eyes. I know Pa will say I am blowing. Our little Regiment numbering 300 men charged and drove thro' town in the above style 700 Yankee Marylanders.¹⁷ Wheats Louisiana Battalion 150 men followed us close behind. We took in town and in the suburbs 200 prisoners; the rest escaped us and took refuge under the cover of two guns stationed on a high hill beyond. They opened upon us a shower of shell, which came very close, but did no execution. We continued to advance while the Louisiannians attacked them on their flank. After one hours fighting they began to make a retrograde movement *in good order*. By this time night had come on us, our cavalry pursued and during the next few hours the cavalry brought in two Parrot guns and 650 Yankee Marylanders, including all their field and staff officers. They resisted for some time killing several of our men, among them Capt. Sheets¹⁸ a gallant officer next in command to Genl. Ashby. The loss on our side during the whole day between 20 and 30, that of the enemy must have been very near 1000.

¹⁵ Bradley T. Johnson, Major, Lieut. Col. and Col. 1st Md. Inf., C. S. A.

¹⁶ Fort Warren, Federal prison in Boston harbor.

¹⁷ One of the dramatic episodes of the war when two Maryland regiments faced each other.

¹⁸ George F. Sheetz.

. . . This night we had a regular feast. We captured everything they had, all their camps and every thing belonging to them, haversacks filled with elegant cakes and even oranges and lemons and trains of provisions just arrived. It was the most complete surprise imaginable, most of them told me they were sound asleep, not dreaming we were within 40 miles of them. Our army pushed on that night towards Strasburg, we went the road to Winchester and in the morning booming of canon was heard—here at Strasburg we capture 200 wagons loaded with baggage and provisions. We pressed them closely the whole time, capturing prisoners and baggage to Winchester, where they were compelled to make a stand or lose the few wagons they had remaining. So, early Sunday morning (25th) the ball opened with heavy canonading, we still having the advance. After three hours fighting they began to give way and away they went on the road to Martinsburg. Our Regiment was the first in town, and such wild demonstrations of joy and delight was depicted on the faces of every one, especially the ladies is inconceivable. I really thought they were going to hug us. There again we found delicacies of every description, sutlers stores crowded with every thing wanted, and as we were unable to pursue the enemy on account of the fatigued condition of our men, we had the benefit of them. If you had only known, my dear Ma, what a splendid opportunity this would have been for you to have come up to see me, been there when we arrived and left when we did.

After resting a day, ours and another Regiment went to Martinsburg. I here wrote you a note, I hope you received it. The Yankees were before us on the 28th we took possession of that town and all its stores, a horrible union place with few exceptions. In the battle of Winchester I forgot to mention Lieut. Col. Dorsey wounded in the fleshy part of the arm was the only man touched in our Regiment. After taking a great many arms and stores at Martinsburg and offering the enemy battle two or three times our cavalry crossed the Potomac and went from there to Charlestown where every one are Southern and also have nothing but sunny smiles, and kind treatment greeted us everywhere. On the next day 31st we went to Harpers Ferry, and the enemy had a strong position on Bolivia Heights. . . . Here also our Regiment made a remarkable escape. The shell exploded above our heads in countless numbers and fell harmless between us. Several of our guns were shattered, but no one was hurt. It was raining hard and several of our boys had gone into an old church. A shell struck and went thro' the thick wall and scattered the stones in every direction but still no one was hurt. Toward evening the enemy was compelled to leave and some of our company mounted the high hill, not knowing whether they were concealed behind it or not. Directly we poked our heads over boom came a shell and down we went on our hands and knees. Here all their tents were left standing and notwithstanding the shells we went in their camps and equipped ourselves with india rubber blankets and plenty of haversacks with good things. There we heard that Freemont¹⁹ and

¹⁹ John C. Frémont, explorer, Senator from California, Presidential candidate, Maj. Gen. U. S. A., in command mountain detachment in Western Va.

Shields²⁰ were coming in our rear at Strasburg, a distance of 50 miles. We bivouacked that night a short distance from Harpers Ferry and next day made 38 miles towards the above place. Never was I so tired in my life, as I lied down that night in a dark rain to rest my weary limbs and blistered feet.

Early the next morning our slumbers were disturbed by the roar of canon at Strasburg. Our advance were engaged there, and before we could come up Jackson had totally routed them. This was part of Freemonts army. Shields had gone up the opposite side of the mountain to cut us off at New Market, but our cavalry had burnt the bridge over the Shenandoah a little too soon for them. Our wagon train 5 miles long was the chief source of anxiety. We hastened on and when we got to Woodstock Freemonts whole Army had come upon us, our little Regiment still in the rear covering the retreat. Some of our cavalry behaved shamefully; we had to threaten to shoot some of them to keep them from running. We hurried on down the Valley now and then troubled by the enemy's shells and cavalry till we got past Harrisonburg, where we turned off to the left in the direction of Port Republic, (the turnpike bridge being burnt) Here the enemy overtook us, their cavalry charged ours, and most beautifully were they repulsed, capturing their Colonel and Major and 50 men, besides killing and wounding a great many. After this our Regiment and 5th Va. were ordered back thro' a wood and we came across a Regt lying in ambush; they opened a deadly fire killing a great many Va's and then we were ordered to charge them. We rushed headlong into the shower of bullets from the Yankees concealed behind a fence. In this charge my best friends fell by my side; but on we went, but the Yankees never flinched till we got within ten feet of them and then away they went and we brought them down by dozens. The Regiment proved to be the Bucktail Rifles from Philadelphia, I think. We withdrew that night with sad hearts. Capt. Robinson²¹ of St. Mary's fell while gallantly leading his men. Lieut. Snowdon²² of Herberts Co. fell pierced by three balls. Killed in our company are Harris and Schley both from Eastern Shore, Sindal shot thro' the mouth; Perry thro' the lungs, Tarr thro' the head, Sam Rogers in the stomach slight, Coakley arm, this happened Friday 6th inst.²³ All day Saturday we rested and early Sunday a severe cannonading was heard in our front. Jackson soon whipped Shields here, and we were sent back to check Freemont in our rear. We were soon into it hot and heavy. We had position in a wood; a battery and three Yankee Regts behind a fence 400 yards distant. Such a shower of ball and grape it is impossible for you to imagine; protected by small trees we stood the tremendous fire till we shot all our ammunition away, when we were withdrawn from the fight to get fresh supply; but the shades of night began to deepen and we did not return. In this fight or Regt lost 28 killed and wounded,

²⁰ James Shields, Senator from Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri; Governor of Oregon Territory, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.

²¹ Capt. M. S. Robertson, Co. I, 1st Md. Inf., C. S. A.

²² 3rd Lieut. Nicholas Snowden, Co. D.

²³ This was the battle of Cross Keys.

our company lost Colston ²⁴ shot thro' the groin, White in the mouth, two or three others slightly wounded. In these two fights our regt out of 188 lost 46. Our force in the battle between 10 and 12000, Yankees 20,000. . . . On Monday Shields had been reinforced but early we attacked him. After a desperate fight we routed him completely and captured a splendid battery of brass artillery and one Regt of infantry. Our loss was very heavy from 4 to 500. Our Regt did not get into this fight, arrived just as it was over.²⁵ The position of our army on Sunday was very critical. If they had attacked in our front and rear at the same time, I don't know what would have become of us, but fortunately we whipped one first and then the other. But now thank God we are all safe and the Yankees again in the retreat. The total number of prisoners is between 5 and 6000. Well I suppose if I keep on you will get tired. I doubt not but the day is close at hand when I shall give you a verbal account of our successful battles in the Valley with the enemy.

The fight before Richmond was a splendid victory for us. Old Maryland will soon be ours and it will certainly be the happiest day of my life when I first set my foot on her sacred soil. That I shall be spared to return in safety home and trusting God to continue his protection over me will be the constant and earnest prayer of your devoted and loving son,

J. E. H. P.

I saw two of the girls Thompson in church on Sunday and would love to go and see them, but considering the condition of my clothes it would not accord with the rules of propriety. I will start for Richmond day after tomorrow. I forgot to mention the sad and serious loss of the gallant Genl Ashby.²⁶ He fell while cheering on his men on our right. The last words we heard him say were 'Take those boys in—they will finish it,' referring to us: this occurred on Friday. Genl Ewell has caused to be inscribed on our banner "Bucktails" in commemoration he says of the gallant charge we made upon that Regiment on the 6th inst.

J. P.

²⁴ Pvt. William E. Colston. Later Aide to Maj. Gen. Trimble. Killed at Harper's Ferry, Jan. 10, 1864.

²⁵ Battle of Port Republic, June 9, 1862.

²⁶ Turner Ashby, Brig. Gen. C. S. A., commander of cavalry.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By CHARLES BRANCH CLARK

(Continued from Vol. XL, page 241, September, 1945)

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND,
1861-1865

The most important question confronting the people of Maryland during the first year of the Civil War required a choice between loyalty and secession. And during the succeeding years of the struggle, there was never a time when secession was not a possibility in the minds of many people in the State. Next to this question of loyalty or secession the most important problem for the people of the State concerned slavery and emancipation. Slavery played havoc with the political organization of the State before it was finally settled by the Constitution of 1864.

In 1860 Maryland's population consisted of 87,189 slaves, 83,942 free Negroes, and 515,918 white persons. The slave property in Maryland was estimated at only \$50,000,000.¹ Slavery traditions, therefore, rather than the money value in slaves, created what political strength the pro-slavery group possessed in Maryland. The nearly equal slave and free colored population produced special conditions in Maryland.

Under such conditions the whole colored population was more intelligent, more active, and more self-reliant than in the dense slave communities, and both the desire and the opportunities for escape from bondage were greatly increased amid the confusion of war and the presence of armies.²

Maryland was thus confronted with a peculiar situation when

¹ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, I (1861), 442.

² J. C. Nicolay and J. Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, VIII, 451. For a full story of the Negro and slavery in Maryland up to the Civil War see James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland* (N. Y., 1921); and Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1889).

Lincoln announced his policy of compensated emancipation on March 6, 1862. Before discussing that policy in detail, certain incidents in the State bearing on the status of slavery should be mentioned.

A threatened Negro insurrection was suppressed in Anne Arundel County in April, 1861, by citizens led by the sheriff. General Benjamin Butler, encamped at Annapolis, offered his aid but it was not required.³ Maryland was ever vigilant to guard against such uprisings. Slave-owners, including Governor Hicks and his successor, Augustus W. Bradford, had suffered heavy losses due to runaway slaves and were desirous of preventing additional losses or trouble.⁴

The Unconditional Union convention of May 24, 1861, declared emphatically its opposition to the formation of political parties in Maryland based on the slave question. It held that the preservation of the Union must not be linked with the abolition of slavery.⁵ Military officers stationed in the State during the November, 1861, elections were ordered not to interfere, in any manner, with persons held to servitude. And in order that there might be no cause for "misrepresentation or cavil," they were not to receive or allow any Negro to come within their lines.⁶

In January, 1862, the citizens of Washington County complained to Brigadier-General Stone that soldiers under his command were encouraging insubordination and rebellion among Negro servants in that section. Stone issued an order reprimanding his men for such conduct. He warned that future offenders would be properly punished for disobedience of orders and, on requisition of the civil authorities, would be turned over to the civil courts to be dealt with as the laws of Maryland prescribed.⁷

Two months later, on March 6, 1862, President Lincoln recommended to Congress the adoption of the following joint resolution:

Resolved, That the United States ought to cooperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State

³ Governor Hicks to General Butler, April 23, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, II, 594.

⁴ *Appleton's I* (1861), 442.

⁵ Matthew P. Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1928), I, 847.

⁶ General John A. Dix to Colonel H. E. Paine, November 4, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 642.

⁷ Order of Brigadier General Stone, January 2, 1862, Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, IV, Document 3, p. 11.

pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.⁸

Lincoln said that, if Congress failed to approve the measure, it would be dropped, but if favorable action were taken, the states would be asked at once to accept or reject the proposal. The President added:

The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offense to ask whether the pecuniary considerations tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned than are the institution, and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs?

He explained that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, but he hoped it would soon lead to important and practical results. "The Federal Government," said the President, "would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation."⁹

Lincoln's resolution was passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 97 to 36 on March 11, and in the Senate by a vote of 32 to 10 on April 2. Calvert, Crisfield, Leary, and Thomas of Maryland voted against it in the House, while Webster and May were apparently absent.¹⁰ In the Senate Kennedy voted in the negative and Senator Pearce was absent.

On March 10 President Lincoln invited the delegation of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware to confer with him at the White House on the resolution. Representatives Leary and Crisfield were the only Marylanders present.¹¹ Lincoln

⁸ *House Journal*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 413-414; *Senate Journal*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 274-275.

⁹ *House Journal*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 413-414; *Senate Journal*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 274-275.

¹⁰ J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 463, deviates from his usual accuracy by stating that Henry Winter Davis voted in the House for his resolution. Davis, defeated in June, 1861, was not a member of the House at this time.

¹¹ The account of this meeting was written by John W. Crisfield, immediately after the meeting. It may be found in Edward McPherson, *Political History of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1864), pp. 210-211. Crisfield thought the other Maryland Congressmen were absent from Washington, and was sure that Senator Pearce and Representatives Webster and Calvert were away at the time of the White House conference.

Attached to Crisfield's report is the following witness: "We were present at the interview described in the foregoing paper of Mr. Crisfield, and we certify that the substance of what passed on the occasion is in this paper faithfully and fully given." Signed by J. W. Menzies, J. J. Crittenden, and R. Mallory, on March 10, 1862.

stated that he desired to protect the interests of the Border States, many of whose residents were disgruntled because slave property was not safeguarded as they thought it should be. John W. Noell of Missouri said that his State was already adopting a gradual emancipation; the proposition was, therefore, unnecessary. Noell resented the attitude of the *New York Tribune* which interpreted Lincoln's message to mean that the Border States must accept emancipation by his plan or get something worse. Crisfield asked what would be the effect of a State refusing to accept the proposition. Lincoln replied that the States should decide for themselves, but he would "lament their refusal to accept it." Crisfield stated that Marylanders would not be reluctant to give slavery up if compensated for their slaves and if assured that they would be rid of the Negro. But they did not like to be coerced into emancipation either by direct government action or by indirection "as through the emancipation of slaves in the District, or the confiscation of southern property as now threatened." Maryland would not consent to such a plan until these points were cleared up, said Crisfield.

Lincoln replied that, as long as he was in the White House, Maryland had nothing to fear, "either for her institutions or her interests, on the points referred to." Whereupon Crisfield added: "Mr. President, if what you now say could be heard by the people of Maryland they would consider your proposition with a much better feeling than I fear without it they will be inclined to do." But Lincoln would not consent to a publication of what he had said. He feared it would force him into an undesirable quarrel with the Greeley faction.

Lincoln's resolution passed both Houses of Congress but the Border States took no action on it. Maryland Unionists of the conservative slaveholding class opposed the plan because of their life-long hatred of abolition and because of their constant irritation over the escape of their slaves. Nicolay and Hay say that prejudices kept Marylanders from realizing that such evils might be remedied by a plan such as Lincoln proposed.¹² This view, however, does not take into consideration that the slaveholders lacked real assurance that they would be compensated. Their unwillingness to embark upon a plan that might result in great

¹² Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 451-452.

financial loss is easily understood. The Maryland congressmen, elected on June 13, 1861, by a party organization which still reflected the pre-war conservatism, were not even lukewarm to the President's proposal. Their single bond or party affiliation was opposition to secession and disunion, and they asserted repeatedly their unwillingness to bring the slavery question into prominence. This political sentiment was common to all the Border slave states.

The bill introduced in Congress on December 16, 1861, to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia brought the slavery question sharply to Maryland's attention. This bill passed the Senate on April 3 and the House on April 11, 1862.¹³ It provided that loyal slave owners should receive compensation, and a sum of money was appropriated for the voluntary colonization of the Negroes in Haiti or Liberia.

This Congressional action had not even been recommended by the Republican party in its 1860 platform. It, together with Lincoln's March 6 program, greatly excited public sentiment in Maryland. The first opposition came from conservative opponents of both propositions. The Maryland legislature, in resolutions of January 2 and February 22, appealed to the Northern States to "rebuke in an unmistakable manner those of their Representatives in Congress, who are wasting their time in devising schemes for the abolition of slavery in rebellious states." Such efforts, it was said, would disturb the relation of master and slave in Maryland, and the "success of the agitators in this scheme would strike a serious blow at the interest of the people of Maryland and impress them with the belief that the government of the United States have not a due regard for their rights, institutions and feelings." Early in March the legislature reaffirmed and recommended the Crittenden resolution to Congress, and declared its apprehension "of an interference with the institution of slavery in the slaveholding states."¹⁴

The popular voice was more specific than the legislature. A meeting, held early in April, 1862, in Montgomery County, where slaveholders were especially annoyed by the escape of slaves into the District, passed a resolution denouncing the abolition of slavery

¹³ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd sess., 37th Cong., p. 1340, and Appendix, p. 364; Lincoln signed this bill on April 6.

¹⁴ *Laws of Maryland* (1862), Resolution No. 4, and No. 5, p. 371. See also Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 463.

in Washington as unwise, ill-timed, unconstitutional, and as the entering wedge of a general scheme of abolition.¹⁵ Reverdy Johnson stated his belief that Congress had no constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District. The matter was expected to come before the Supreme Court where Johnson was scheduled to handle several cases arising from the bill.¹⁶

The *Baltimore American* disagreed with the Maryland congressmen, the State legislature, and the slaveholding element on the slave question. It showed that in 1850 Maryland had 1,747,623 cultivated acres and 1,211,359 uncultivated acres in the thirteen slaveholding counties. In the seven comparatively free counties—Allegany, Washington, Frederick, Carroll, Baltimore, Harford, and Cecil—there were 980,147 cultivated acres and 635,085 uncultivated. Strange to say, remarked the editor,¹⁷ the cultivated farms in the free counties although possessing only about one-half the acreage of the cultivated farms in the slave counties, were worth, with improvements, \$47,851,615, while the farms in the slaveholding counties were worth only \$41,779,616. An acre of land, cultivated principally by free labor, was worth, therefore, about twice as much as an acre cultivated by slave labor. The paper asked what it mattered how fast the slaves absconded. "Our land will be doubly increased in value. A prodigious gain." It advocated that the laws of Maryland "punishing the enticing of slaves to abscond, and the laws forbidding their taxation, and the multitude of others encouraging the institution," be repealed—"the whole of them and the slaves would go without cost to us, we would be large gainers by the operation." The State would reap a "prodigious benefit" whether its Negroes were lost "by emancipation, or by the running off process." Nor should it be forgotten, said the editorial, that compensation for freed slaves was possible if Lincoln's March 6 proposal were accepted.¹⁸

The *Baltimore American* was very influential in Maryland and the bolder politicians of the State capitalized upon the effect of its opinions on the slave issue to begin the organization of a new and more radical party. They planned to supplant in popular leadership those of Maryland who would keep the emancipation question out of politics.

¹⁵ Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 455.

¹⁶ *Maryland Union* (Frederick), May 1, 1862.

¹⁷ April 4, 1862. These figures were drawn from census returns.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

A convention, held in Baltimore on May 28, composed of delegates chosen by Union meetings in the city wards, adopted a series of resolutions that approved the "wise and conservative policy proposed by the President in his message of the 6th March, 1862, and sanctioned by Congress."¹⁹ It was the "duty" of Maryland, and to the "interest" of her people, to accept Lincoln's program of gradual emancipation. It would sustain the government "as well against the treason of secession as against the radical and violent projects of fanatical abolitionists." Maryland, it was said, should act at once, accept the aid thus tendered, and remove an institution no longer profitable in the State. These resolutions severely criticized the Maryland legislature for "putting forth unnecessary protests calculated to embarrass the action of the government and throw doubt upon the position of the State," and for failing to take a vote on the question of calling a constitutional convention to act upon the slave issue. The conservative legislature had not met the "demands of the crisis," nor answered the "just expectations of the loyal people of Maryland."

The Baltimore convention also denounced the inequality and injustice of the existing State apportionment in the legislature. The smaller counties, holding the slave population, contained only one-fourth of the State's population and paid less than one-fourth of the State taxes. Yet they virtually controlled the State by sending thirty-four out of seventy-four delegates and fourteen out of twenty-two senators to the legislature. This was an average of one delegate to 3,831 white persons in the southern counties against one delegate to 9,641 white persons in the northern counties. This system gave the southern counties one senator to 9,641 white persons while the northern counties had one senator to every 48,205 persons. The lack of adequate representation for Baltimore City was especially deplored. The convention demanded that the constitution be amended so as to correct this inequality and to base representation on white population alone.²⁰

This argument in favor of a State convention was supported by the liberal and progressive voters among the slaveholding class, and particularly by the white laboring population of Baltimore City. They united to work out plans for an unconditional Union

¹⁹ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

²⁰ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227. Archibald Stirling was chairman of the meeting and John H. Lloyd secretary.

party that favored emancipation and fair representation in the legislature. They were aided by the Union victory at Antietam, the quick expulsion of the Confederate invasion, and the President's preliminary proclamation of emancipation of September, 1862.

While the issue of emancipation was thus forging its way into Maryland politics, runaway slaves were causing slaveowners great trouble and much loss. Many slaves left Prince George's County for Washington, apparently believing that they would receive their freedom. They escaped in parties of from five to fifty, but separated into small squads just before reaching the Eastern Branch bridge, in order to avoid suspicion on crossing. During the course of a week, from 100 to 200 were reported to be taking up residence in the city. Many owners found it almost useless to pursue them.²¹

Governor Bradford, therefore, wrote to Attorney General Edward Bates on May 10, stating that the complaints of slave owners in Maryland were increased by the rumor that the government had forbidden the marshal of the District to execute any warrant for the arrest of runaway slaves, on the ground that the Fugitive Slave Law did not apply in Washington. Bradford said the Maryland people believed otherwise and depended on the Fugitive Slave Law. The abolition of slavery in the District, he said, had excited two classes of people in Maryland—the politicians with no genuine interest in the slave question but who used it to agitate the partisan effect, and those who were losing property and who favored law enforcement. Bradford addressed Bates in behalf of the latter class, and urged that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 be enforced, at least until the courts decided it was not applicable to Washington. The Attorney General replied to Bradford on the following day. He said it was a "new and unexpected" rumor to him that the marshal of the District of Columbia had received such orders. The rumor was "mere fiction started by some evil disposed person, to stir up bad feeling and to frighten the timid and credulous. . . ." Since the district attorney and the marshal were under Bates' general supervision, he would surely know of such an order if it existed.²²

Governor Bradford continued to be besieged by complainants.

²¹ Baltimore *Sun*, April 8, 1862.

²² Executive Letter Book (Md.), pp. 289-290, for Bradford's and Bates's letters.

A delegation from Prince George's, Anne Arundel, and Calvert counties visited him, asking aid for those who were losing their slaves.²³ It was charged that when slaves reached Washington they were protected by persons, representing themselves as Federal officers, who prevented the reclamation of slaves by civil process under the Fugitive Slave Law. These officers alleged that they were working under instructions received from the President and the Secretary of State, and would not allow the recovery of runaway slaves even by their owners. This led to disorder and the people of the slave counties feared slave insurrections. The delegation implored Governor Bradford to protect the lives and property of Maryland citizens by calling out a State force, posse, or patrol in the counties, and to protest to the Federal authorities such action by its officers.²⁴

Bradford replied to Colonel William D. Bowie, chairman of the delegation, saying that he felt the expense of such force would not be justified by the value of the slaves it would reclaim or prevent from escaping. The "controlling consideration," however, was that such a force would cause serious collisions and worse calamities. It would be preferable, Bradford said, for the county sheriffs to use their powers. The Governor then denounced the District Emancipation Law, calling it the

selfish and incendiary course of those who at the very moment when the nation is struggling for its existence, and all its energies should be concentrated to that end, have persisted in this wanton violence to the feelings of the border states, and in hurling this firebrand among those of their citizens who have that end chiefly at heart. . . .²⁵

But since it had been passed it must be regarded as "an accomplished fact." Bradford rapped those in Maryland who had supported emancipation in the District, and accused them of using it as a means of stirring up discontent that might take the State out of the Union. He said he had visited Lincoln twice in connection with the subject and had been led to believe that the Fugitive Slave Law would be made to apply to the District. In this manner, and not by the use of State force, Bradford believed runaways could best be checked. Slaves continued to escape in such numbers,

²³ Augustus W. Bradford, "Journal," May 16, 1862.

²⁴ Executive Letter Book, p. 293, *et seq.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

however, that some owners took their slaves to private jails in Baltimore where they could be safeguarded.²⁶

Dr. John H. Bayne wrote Bradford that the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law was a "perfect nullity" in the District. Slaves from Maryland passed straight through the District to Alexandria, Virginia and vicinity where they received protection. Bradford was again asked to help recover these slaves. Fields stood uncultivated, said Dr. Bayne, and loyal Marylanders were becoming disloyal because the Federal government practically sanctioned the loss of their property. Marylanders wanted the Union preserved, not slavery destroyed, he said,²⁷ But Dr. Bayne, like many others, did not realize that the Union hinged upon the question.

In his reply to Bayne Governor Bradford admitted that he knew of no practical method of redressing the evil. He had no authority, he said, to send troops to protect slave property. The loss must be accepted as "one of the casualties of war, one of the direct and anticipated fruits of this atrocious rebellion, got up under the pretense of establishing a better security for his very species of property." In fact, said Bradford, if they could get by with just the loss of their slaves, he would "thank God."²⁸ He regretted that one of so loyal and "true a type" as Dr. Bayne should falter in his loyalty. He could not believe that the "patriotism of the loyal people of Maryland is of so flexible a character, that they will require guarantees of any kind before they 'come to the rescue.'" Their fear of future losses was excited by the fear of a "petty faction whose power for mischief only exists whilst our political system is in its present disorganized condition." Bradford had in mind the group that wanted to organize an emancipation party in Maryland by taking advantage of the national feeling on the issue. He asserted that the majority in Maryland believed that slavery had run its course, but favored abolition only as a voluntary and gradual process. Bradford closed his letter by urging that loyalty to the Federal government must be maintained and not

²⁶ One of these jails was operated by B. M. and W. L. Campbell on Pratt Street, near Howard, in Baltimore. Slaves rioted there on one occasion, but were suppressed with the aid of police. *Baltimore American*, June 2, 1862.

²⁷ Dr. John H. Bayne to Bradford, July 11, 1862, Executive Letter Book, p. 315.

²⁸ Bradford to Bayne, July 14, 1862, Executive Letter Book, pp. 315-317. Bradford's statement here is significant in that he had already lost much property because of runaway slaves. Later in the war the Confederates burned his home with all its valuables.

lessened because of slave losses. Secession was the "only course to which they can look when they refuse to come to the rescue of the Union," but it would not solve their problems, he said.

Ex-Governor Hicks agreed with Bradford's position. In a letter to Lincoln²⁹ he said he had worked to prevent the President's election, but now recognized him as the constitutional President and would support his administration "as far as it accorded with the Constitution of the United States." Thus far he believed it had done so. Hicks asked Lincoln to veto the District Emancipation bill as a "matter of policy to the Border states," because it would cause Maryland especial trouble. He also besought the President not to molest slavery in the states and to prevent the "mad doings of Sumner, Willson, Lovejoy, etc., until the Rebellion shall be put down." Hicks would give up his slaves "tomorrow" if necessary to preserve the Union, but did not believe that was the solution. Slavery should be settled after the Union was restored, he said.

Brantz Mayer, prominent Baltimore lawyer, also supported Bradford's views. He published an article in the *Baltimore American* of June 17, 1862, entitled "The Emancipation Problem in Maryland."³⁰ Though firm in his Union sentiments, Mayer was no extremist. He asserted that Maryland was "already overburdened with free colored people," and therefore slaves should not be emancipated until after the war. Emancipation, he said, was an organic change that would interfere with the "true and single purpose of restoring the Union under the Constitution."

Because the Border States took no action on Lincoln's March 6 proposal of compensated emancipation, Lincoln again appealed to the Border States on the subject of emancipation on July 12.³¹ He asserted that had they accepted his proposal the war would be over. There was only one way to defeat the Confederacy, he believed, and that was for the Border States to free their slaves and thereby convince the South that they would not support rebellion. It would also be to the advantage of these states to free their slaves while compensation might be obtained, for there was little possibility of it if slaves were freed by the war. Lincoln said he

²⁹ Hicks to Lincoln, May 26, 1862, Hicks MSS.

³⁰ Reprinted in a four page leaflet.

³¹ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214; *Baltimore Republican*, July 18, 1862; *Baltimore American*, July 19, 1862.

and the country would be relieved if these states accepted gradual and compensated emancipation and assumed the initiative in such a process. He said he had already offended too many people by repudiating General Hunter's proclamation freeing slaves in South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia.

The Border statesmen replied that Congress should take the initiative. The mere passage of resolutions was not a reliable basis for them to act upon. They denied that the war would have been over had they accepted his proposal in March. The Border States had never planned to desert the Union. They felt that Lincoln's plan was too hastily conceived and too expensive.³² When they were assured of funds for the emancipation, deportation, and colonization of slaves, they would seriously consider the President's proposals.³³ Lincoln replied that unless Congress made an appropriation for the plan, "the bottom would be out of the tub."³⁴ Actually there was no intention of making such an appropriation, and Lincoln's second appeal to the Border states met with no more success than his first. If anything, his plan was farther from adoption, for the Border States had now made their position clear and it was unfavorable to the plan. Slavery was traditionally too much a part of the social and economic life of these states for them to take the lead in its abolition.

Lincoln already had his preliminary proclamation of emancipation under consideration. It was first considered in a cabinet meeting on July 22, but laid aside until the military prospects of the North were brighter. The summer of 1862 was a dark one for the North, but in September McClellan won a doubtful victory at Antietam which furnished Lincoln with the occasion he had awaited. He therefore issued his proclamation on September 22.

³² McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-217; *Baltimore Republican*, July 18, 1862.

There were 4,000,000 slaves in the South, each of whom would bring \$300 to his owner in compensation, or a total of \$1,200,000,000. To this must be added \$100 to deport each slave, or \$400,000,000. The "proposition is nothing less than the deportation from the country of \$1,600,000,000 worth of producing labor, and the substitution in its place of an interest bearing debt of the same amount." For the Border States of Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Missouri, and Tennessee, the figure would amount to \$478,038,133.

³³ The majority report of July 14, 1862, was signed by 20 representatives, including 5 from Maryland—Crisfield, Calvert, Thomas, Leary, and Webster. Henry May not not present. The *Baltimore Sun*, July 16, 1862, says that May probably wasn't asked to attend, since he was a State Rights Democrat on the subject of slavery.

³⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, July 17, 1862.

It declared that slaves should be declared free in all states still in rebellion against the United States on January 1, 1863.³⁵

The *Baltimore American* doubted that Lincoln's proclamation would aid in suppressing the rebellion. Only the "utmost vigor in our military and naval movements" would help measurably, it was argued. The capture of Abingdon, Virginia, the chief source of the South's salt supply, would "do more than any paper manifesto" to bring the South to terms. The supply of English war materials, brought by steamers to Charleston, should also be stopped.³⁶ This paper called Lincoln's Proclamation a sudden departure from his "fixed policy." His handling of the proclamations issued by Fremont, Hunter, and Phelps had led the country to expect something else. It appeared, said this journal, that the President had capitulated to the Greeley and Sumner school, thereby weakening his position in the country. The *American* also denied the constitutionality of the proclamation, even as a "military necessity." Abolition was not a policy, but an expedient that would do more mischief than good even when backed by the President. It would divide and unsettle public sentiment in the loyal states. Slavery was already on the wane in Maryland and other states, but "whilst it had hardly vitality enough to die, as matters were moving on, it may be galvanized into fierce action by the folly of its old assailants." The President should modify his proclamation because it would not "alter the standing of slavery in Maryland materially, and is of *no use whatever elsewhere without military success.*"³⁷

The *Frederick Examiner* held different views. It believed that the Proclamation, though not applying to Maryland, would offer relief to thousands of slave owners and, accompanied by Federal emancipation, would help to promote the welfare and prosperity of Maryland. It was a measure of "sound policy and stern necessity." Slavery was doomed by the war, thought this paper, and preparation should be made for the social revolution lest it be accompanied by calamities.³⁸

Governor Bradford opposed Lincoln's proclamation. As chairman of a meeting of governors at Altoona, Pennsylvania, in late

³⁵ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 227-28; *Baltimore American*, September 23, 1862.

³⁶ September 22, 1862.

³⁷ *Baltimore American*, September 30, 1862.

³⁸ October 1, 1862.

September, Bradford asserted that the measure would be ineffective except within the Union lines, that it would be a "handle" to the rebels, and made "a rallying cry against us." He refused to sign the address issued by the representatives of sixteen states approving Lincoln's Proclamation. He said he would give his views separately.³⁹

On December 16, 1862, Governor Bradford conferred with A. C. Gibbs and others of West River, Anne Arundel County, who urged him to issue a proclamation to Maryland slaves stating that Lincoln's Proclamation of September did not concern them. Bradford opposed such action but sent Gibbs a statement, to be read in the latter's neighborhood, to the effect that Lincoln's Proclamation did not refer to any but the states in rebellion. Bradford felt that a proclamation to the whole State was inadvisable for two reasons. If slaves believed they would be free on January 1, a proclamation stating otherwise would likely lead to a stampede as the last means of effecting their freedom. It would do better, thought the Governor, to let them find out gradually so that they would have no chance to organize effectively for their freedom. In the second place, he believed that a proclamation would create the opinion outside of Maryland that it had been necessary to stem a revolt of slaves, and that this opinion would filter back to the State and probably stimulate such a revolt.⁴⁰ Bradford knew this was a delicate question and took every detail into consideration before making a decision.

³⁹ The *Maryland Union* (Frederick), October 2, 1862. Bradford could not bring himself to believe that slavery had been a real issue in bringing on the war. He wrote a pamphlet in 1861, entitled *The Main object of the Rebellion* (also published in the *Easton Gazette* (Md.), October 8, 1892), in which he said:

"The pretext that the loss or insecurity of the slave property of the southern planter had anything to do with it [Civil War], is too flimsy to need refutation. One single scattered fact is sufficient to illustrate its ridiculous absurdity. The census returns of 1850 shows that whilst Maryland with the slave population of only 90,368 lost in that year 279 fugitive slaves, the five great slave states of the South, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the leaders of the Rebellion, with a slave population of 1,664,197, lost in fugitives in the aggregate, 265. Or, in other words, these five states with a slave population eighteen times as great as Maryland, lost together fourteen slaves less than Maryland alone. And, so far from even that loss being likely to increase, the next census taken a year ago [1860], shows that whilst the slave population of the above five states had increased in the preceding ten years from 1,664,197 to 2,069,119, their loss in fugitive slaves had actually decreased as compared to the preceding census, from 265, to 196, two-thirds of whom were doubtless still lurking about the swamps and jungles of their own states."

⁴⁰ Bradford to A. C. Gibbs, December 17, 1862, Executive Letter Book, pp. 348-350.

Lincoln's September Proclamation did not have the desired effect, and he proceeded to issue the Proclamation of Emancipation on January 1, 1863. As expected, it was not received warmly in Maryland. The *Baltimore American*, the leading loyal journal in the State, again argued that the Proclamation was unnecessary since slavery was already doomed. Unless supported by a military advance, it was a "dead letter" anyhow. In regard to Maryland specifically, the *American* said:

No one need suppose that slavery will ever, in view of what is going on South of us, be of much account as an institution again. Even as matters stood in the past it occupied a more precarious footing than in other states probably, and no one can doubt but that the best interests of all concerned—as matters are going along now—call for prompt deliberation and action on the part of slave-owners if they would save a modicum of what is undoubtedly a large interest greatly endangered by the events of the hour. . . . What chance will she [Maryland] have of making slavery in the slightest degree *profitable* with free territory environing the slave interest on every side? In view of what impends over them is it not the duty—at least, the interest—of the Slaveholders of the State at once take steps to get compensation for a fleeting interest, one that all must recognize as doomed? ⁴¹

⁴¹ January 3, 1863.

BOOK REVIEWS

Admiral De Grasse and American Independence. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1945. xviii, 404 pp. \$3.00.

This is the first complete, well rounded up and authoritative biography of a great seaman who is better remembered in America than in France, but who even in America is not sufficiently honored and remembered for his decisive contribution which brought about the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

It is more than a mere biography of de Grasse. It happened that the young French nobleman who entered the *Gardes Marines* at the age of 11, and was to stay in the Navy for fifty years, had such a career that an outline of the history of the French Navy and French naval policies during more than a half century had to be given as a necessary background.

It was de Grasse's good fortune that he spent most of his life at sea and not in the antechambers of Versailles, that he participated as a young officer in most of the campaigns of the French fleet from the Battle off Cape Finistère, where he was captured, to the disastrous campaigns of the Seven Years War in the West Indies. He served under great commanders at a time when unfortunately the French navy kept using obsolete tactics, and was more interested in developing skillful evolutions like perfect quadrilles than in downright hard fighting. Those were the days when the Navy was no longer considered by the Court as an essential instrument of politics and when the French had lost interest in their colonies even before actually losing them to the British. It was not until after 1763, under Choiseul and Praslin and later under Sartines, that the Court of Versailles seriously thought of reconstructing a powerful navy and not until after the people of Paris had raised by public subscription enough money to build the ill-fated three-decker *Ville de Paris*.

After these preliminaries which were indispensable and could even have been elaborated upon, for they explain some aspects of the character of de Grasse, the author reaches with Chapter IX, the history of the naval participation of France in the War of Independence, from the Engagement off Ushant and the first campaigns in the West Indies to the day when de Grasse was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Général (Rear admiral), and given command of a fleet in March, 1781. His advancement had not been too rapid: he was then in his sixtieth year, was already feeling old and was in bad health.

The part played by the French fleet under de Grasse in the final episode of the Virginia campaign has often been told. The account given here by Professor Lewis, in the chapters entitled "The Strategy of Yorktown," and "Converging Forces," presents the rare merit of coordinating with great skill and clarity the land and sea operations, without making undue claims for either side. Yorktown thus appears in its true light as an extraordinary achievement in international cooperation, made possible only because of the willingness of the allied commanders to adapt themselves to new circumstances, to give up their most cherished schemes, to modify their original plans and to accept their responsibilities.

In order to give proper assistance to Washington and Rochambeau Admiral de Grasse had to depart from a strict interpretation of his instructions to interpret them in the broadest manner. He placed at the disposal of the commander in chief ships, men, provisions and money which made the final victory possible. His "momentous decision" was no sudden flash of genius; it was the culmination of a long career entirely devoted to the sea and thus far unmarked by conspicuous success. Nor were the Americans ungrateful and Washington was the first to recognize de Grasse's "illustrious services in the common cause." At the hands of his fellow countrymen he received a less unqualified recognition.

A large part of Professor Lewis's book is devoted to a detailed study of the disastrous campaign which resulted in the defeat of the French fleet at the battle of the Saints and in an attempt to justify de Grasse against the accusations of his contemporaries. Whatever may be the case and even admitting that de Grasse's subordinates, and particularly Bougainville, did not obey his orders, the fact remains—and the French could not forget it—that he surrendered to Rodney with his flagship *Ville de Paris*, the pride of the French navy and the Parisian people. The fact that he was honored by his enemies, generously and splendidly treated in London, that he was absolved of all blame, that the defeat off Saints Passage did not influence the final issue could not suffice to stem the tide of unpopularity which assailed him after his return to France. That he was cruelly and unfairly attacked by many of his contemporaries cannot be denied; the well documented and generous book of Professor Lewis ought to contribute to restore a man who had his day, and was both glorious and unfortunate, to the place due him in naval history and the history of Franco-American relations.

GILBERT CHINARD

Princeton University.

When the French Were Here. A Narrative of the Sojourn of the French Forces in America, and Their Contribution to the Yorktown Campaign. By STEPHEN BONSAI. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1945. 263 pp. \$3.00.

Clemenceau, the Premier of France during World War I, was the inspiration for this book. It was the Tiger's ambition, accompanied by

Mr. Bonsal, to follow the itinerary from Narragansett Bay to Yorktown of those French troops who helped the American colonies gain their independence. Although Clemenceau's death in 1929 put an end to this plan, Mr. Bonsal decided to describe and follow the movements of the French troops under General Rochambeau. And the Tiger had promised him "I will be with you in spirit."

Based largely on the diaries and letters of French officers who participated in the campaigns, the book gives not only first hand accounts of military manoeuvres, but also tells much of the customs and habits of Americans of that period. Claude Blanchard, chief commissary of the French forces, writes that he attended a dinner in Newport where a giant turtle weighing between three or four hundred pounds, which had been brought from the West Indies, was the main course. At the banquet, according to Blanchard, the men all sat on one side of the table and the women on the other. The dance, which followed, did not please the Frenchman, as he found that Americans "stretch out and lengthen their arms in a way that is far from agreeable."

Blanchard, one of whose duties as commissary was to keep the French troops supplied with firewood, was surprised to learn that a farmer who brought the wood was a brother of the famous General Greene. "Voilà les mœurs Américaines," was the commissary's brief comment.

Marching south from New York to join with the naval forces of Admiral de Grasse operating in the Chesapeake Bay, the French troops passed through Philadelphia wearing coats with rose-colored facings and grenadier caps with white and rose-colored feathers. No wonder the ladies of Philadelphia were struck with astonishment. Then on to Yorktown and victory followed by a ball given by General Rochambeau at Williamsburg. An officer on the general's staff noted that the ladies of Williamsburg show "a partiality for the Minuet and dance it fairly well; undoubtedly better than the ladies of the North who excel in the Schottish."

When, later, Rochambeau visited Baltimore he not only enjoyed Maryland hospitality, but also "the after-dinner speeches of the Moales and the Purviances, of gallant 'Sam' Smith, and other worthies, who spoke at the innumerable banquets with which he was honored at the Fountain Inn."

Upon completing this delightfully written book, the reader cannot help but feel that General Rochambeau played a much more important part in the American Revolution than his youthful contemporary, Lafayette. For this reason Marylanders may well be proud of a resolution passed by their Assembly, shortly before the general sailed from Annapolis, in which regret is expressed at his approaching departure and esteem and affection for the general and his troops.

RAPHAEL SEMMES

Dutch Emigration to North America, 1624-1860. By BERTUS H. WABEKE. New York: Netherlands Information Bureau, 1944. 160 pp.

Very justly the author points out that this is a history of "emigration," i. e. the story of individuals and groups who left their country to settle across the ocean. It does not pay any attention to the story of Dutch explorations, to life in the various Dutch communities or the cultural contributions of these immigrants. The author is chiefly concerned with the three main phases of Dutch emigration: the settlement of New Netherland 1624-1664, the emigration to British America until the outbreak of the Revolution, and the great migration of the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century. The fact that the chief agents of early Dutch colonization were more interested in trade (particularly fur trade) than in the founding of settlements was responsible for the failure of the Dutch colonies along the Middle Atlantic. Towards the end of the seventeenth century there were two group settlements in which Dutch people participated, the founding of Germantown in Pennsylvania (although the author somewhat exaggerates the share of the Dutch) and the establishment of the Labadist colony in Maryland. In Germantown the Dutch were outnumbered by the Germans and soon lost their Dutch characteristics, while the Labadists did not have enough moral force to survive as a coherent group. The author does not always draw a clear line between the Dutch in the sense of Hollanders and the "Dutch" from a distorted *deutsch* (German) as in the connotation Pennsylvania-Dutch. William Rittenhouse, the first paper maker, for instance, was not a Hollander from Arnhem, but a German from Mühlheim-on-the-Ruhr.

Most interesting is the chapter on Dutch emigration in the mid-nineteenth century. Whereas in colonial times Dutch immigrants concentrated on the Middle Atlantic colonies like New York, New Jersey and Delaware, since 1840 the stream of the Hollanders has been directed towards the northern part of the Middle West: Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin. At the beginning of the Civil War almost half of the 28,000-odd Holland-born residents of the United States were living in these three states. The author emphasizes that economic as well as religious causes were the motives of most of these immigrants. As a whole, it is a very valuable little book, a type of "short history" one would like to see written for other national minority groups in American immigration history.

University of Maryland.

DIETER CUNZ

The House of Hancock. Business in Boston, 1724-1775. By W. T. BAXTER. (Harvard Studies in Business History, X). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945. xxvii, 321 pp. \$3.50.

Here is a volume which describes in detail a mercantile business of pre-Revolutionary times and tells the story so well that it is delightful read-

ing. The author, who is an expert accountant, uses the mass of Hancock accounts, letters, and papers which have been preserved, and not only explains them so clearly that ordinary laymen can understand, but also draws from them something of the romantic air which pervaded the commerce of the colonial period. The book is a high light among scholarly works on business history.

The initial chapters, after some remarks on the Hancock family and its start in trade, discuss the various methods employed in the conduct of mid-eighteenth century commercial ventures. The succeeding sections deal with Thomas Hancock's rise to prosperity, the effects of the French and Indian Wars and the business of supplying British troops, the shift to potash and oil, and the rapid decline after John Hancock took charge. The author's method—a complete discussion of the material, with illustrative items in appendices at the end of each chapter—is very satisfactory, for it provides a text bare of lengthy quotations, and at the same time gives selected bits of the original sources for those who wish to follow closely the use of the manuscripts.

Maryland readers will be interested to know that among the Carroll and Ridgely papers at The Maryland Historical Society are long runs of similar materials for the ports of the Chesapeake, not to mention some collectors' records and scattered series which deal with the same subject.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

A Short History of the Boys' School of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1849-1945. By ARTHUR B. KINSOLVING, D. D. [Baltimore: Privately printed, 1945] 43 pp.

In carrying out the request of the school authorities Dr. Kinsolving has written an informative and readable little book. He has traced lightly the early struggles of the school during the successive rectorships of the Rev. Drs. Wyatt, Mahan and Hodges, but the major portion of the book is devoted to the story of the last thirty-nine years. This is as it should be, for these are the years of the greatest and most significant development of the institution. During the greater part of this period Dr. Kinsolving himself was rector of St. Paul's Parish and chairman of the board of trustees of the school. Its present standing is a tribute to his leadership.

Dr. Kinsolving has not written a mere chronicle of events. The book is intimate and conversational in style and alive with the personalities of trustees, benefactors, teachers and students. Woven throughout also is an earnest plea to Christian men and women for greater interest in "sound secular education in a Church atmosphere." This, says the writer, has been the aim of St. Paul's School from the beginning. Impressive is the evidence of accomplishment of St. Paul's alumni in the business and professional fields. The school's well recognized contribution to the development of Church music in this country is very properly emphasized, although it will doubtless surprise many to learn that it was never strictly a choir school. Interesting features of the book are the appendices giving partial lists of

those former students who have taken holy orders since 1849 and those who have served in the armed forces in World War II.

THOMAS DEC. RUTH

An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America (1701). An Anonymous Virginian's Proposals For Liberty Under The British Crown, With Two Memoranda. By WILLIAM BYRD. Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT. San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1945. 66 pp. \$2.50.

The rather short essay which forms the corpus of this latest output of the Huntington Library is, the editor thinks, "One of the best-reasoned arguments by an American" on the relations between England and the American plantations or colonies. Historian and political philosopher will both find it interesting. It was published anonymously, and a good part of the editor's introduction deals with the uncertainty of who wrote it. The Virginian author was led to set down his thoughts by the appearance of Charles Davenant's *Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, and he gives a good quarter of his work to showing wherein Davenant was mistaken. There were many things about the American colonies that the Englishman did not know.

In the essay proper the Virginian took up the grievances connected with the colonies, and then set forth ways in which those grievances might be met. Then he outlined a frame of government, always within the allegiance of England: independence was not part of his plan. He wanted a general assembly of all the provinces, with representation roughly according to population, and with the meeting place changing from time to time. Even in 1701 the provinces all had complaints against one another: the author proposes, in order to remedy "the grievances that one plantation is to another," that there be a general law binding on all of them, and that by this general law a way be found to decide all controversies between colony and colony. This same general law must also be able to bring to condign punishment all persons who commit offences against one colony and flee to another; it must settle all disputes concerning trade in the several colonies. These ideas should sound very familiar to anyone who has read the constitution of the United States.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

History and Genealogy of the Leibensperger Family. Compiled by ELMER I. LEIBENSBERGER, [Reading, Pa.]: Published by the Leibensperger Family Association [1943]. 564 pp.

John George Leipersberger (1693—ca. 1767), a Lutheran, born at Schmerach, Wurttemberg, came to Philadelphia County, Pa., in 1732 and died in the present Lehigh County. Descent from him, in the male and female lines, is here brought down to the present. The name became

Leibelsperger, Leibensperger and Livelsberger in Pennsylvania and Livelsberger, Livelsparger, Livensparger and Livenspire in Ohio. The families of Butz, Derr, Fisher, Frederick, Kemmerer, Metzger, Reinhard, Schaeffer, Zimmerman and others descend through female lines.

Sources have been adequately exploited and cited. Given names, however, are not well handled. Diminutives should have been converted into proper forms, and middle names, rather than initials, should have been given. The book is illustrated with photographs and is indexed by chapters. Binding, paper and typography are excellent.

DONNELL M. OWINGS

The American Philosophical Society and the Early History of Forestry in America. By GILBERT CHINARD. (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 89, No. 2, 1944.) Philadelphia: the Society, 1944. 45 pp.

The early lore of American forestry, with special emphasis on the wasteful methods of original and later generations of settlers, has been garnered by Professor Chinard from the works of little known commentators on America. The result is a charming essay on a topic which has yet to win full understanding and acceptance, namely, conservation of trees. Here are traced the early pseudo-scientific beliefs in the effects of forests on health. One writer thought trees exhaled poisonous moisture which caused fevers while another held that destruction of forests induced commotions of the atmosphere, resulting in a "preternatural ferment" and producing "bad effects." Valuable light on farming methods and the denuding of the landscape to provide houses and firewood is derived from the illuminating comments of foreign visitors which Dr. Chinard, thanks to his wide knowledge of this literature, has assembled. Other witnesses called upon are Franklin, Jefferson, John Bartram, Jeremy Belknap, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and André Michaux.

J. W. F.

Maryland Through the Camera's Eye. Volume I. [Sykesville, Md.:] Jones Sister [1945]. 50 pp. \$5.00.

This book of 25 hand-colored photographs, each with its accompanying page of descriptive text, is a unique venture in the local book field. It is the product of the combined talents of three sisters, the Misses Ida, Elsie S. and Frances Jones of Sykesville. Needless to say, it bears the marks of a labor of love as well as of commerce. The pictures are actual photo-prints, not press reproductions, and nearly all are fit to mount and frame individually. The subjects range through famous old homes, historic spots and unusual "shots" all the way from Easton to Hagerstown. Unfortunately the text in most cases leaves much unsaid and appears to have been hastily "written up."

J. W. F.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE ROLE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Senator George L. Radcliffe, President of the Society, was the principal speaker at the opening of the new home of the Historical Society of Frederick County on Labor Day, September 3rd. The house on West Patrick Street, Frederick, which has been presented to the Society by Mrs. William Bradley Tyler Belt, widow of a native of Frederick who became a prominent citizen of Omaha, Nebraska, was formerly the residence of the Steiner family. The concluding portion of Senator Radcliffe's address follows:

"I rejoice in the fact that in providing this historic and attractive home for the Frederick County Historical Society the far-sighted donor is doing something which will help greatly the cause of good citizenship.

"History pleases, but it also instructs and constructs. In the trying days which are ahead of us we will need the benefit of every useful agency which can be made available to assist us in adopting wise policies and doing essential things. This building, enshrining the tradition and history of Frederick County, will ever be a reminder of what has been done so well by your forefathers in this county. It will bring to your service the vast field of experience. As you go forward step by step, it will aid and succor you. The information which it will bring to you, and the helpful advice which it can prompt are elements of tremendous value. Though I do not mean in any way to ignore the significance and value of the cultural and pleasure-giving province of history, I am glad to bear witness to the fact that history is one of the useful factors in human progress. The history of Frederick County will contribute much as we attempt to solve in this day of vast economic readjustment, problems of business, labor, agriculture, return of veterans to civilian life, elimination of governmental restrictions and so many other matters pressing upon us.

"Everyone knows that the present rate of federal taxation does not give opportunity for venture or risk of capital so essential to development of business. We must begin to reduce these taxes, yet be ready to meet the heavy cost of interest charges on debt, reconversion from a war to peace basis, reasonable needs of our veterans and of unemployment and other necessary expenditures.

"There is not time to attempt to dwell upon the many wise lessons that history can teach us. Let me emphasize one. Some people cavil at

our frequent references to what we call the American Way of Life. They are wrong. We cannot over-stress its importance. The American way of life typifies consistency, but it is elastic enough to permit change whenever clearly advisable.

"The American Way of Life began in Colonial Days. It grew greatly during the Revolutionary period. It went forward by leaps and bounds at the time our Constitution was framed and our nation was created. So throughout the years some of the apparent changes in our way of life are recognized almost universally as being in the nature of improvement.

"But our American Way of Life has certain principles which are fundamental. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the Four Freedoms, are among the basic elements of our concept. That way of life does now and must always continue to contemplate and require that our government of men and women should be freed as far as feasible from governmental restrictions. It holds that thrift, free enterprise and wide opportunity for private initiative and discretion are among the factors which have made this nation great. These principles are going to be preserved in our systems of government and society. We are not going to be swept from our moorings by socialistic or communistic theories of government. We are not going to embrace a regimentation or paternalism which would enfeeble. What we need is more and more invigorating self-reliance and less debilitating paternalism.

"In the furtherance of this great objective the people of Frederick will continue to serve valiantly, blessed by guidance from the light which ever shines so brightly in the history of Frederick. In this new home, ideally situated and adapted for the purposes desired, the Frederick County Historical Society can and will continue to play a very useful role."

The address was printed in full in the *Maryland News*, Silver Spring, Sept. 7, and in the Appendix to the *Congressional Record* for Nov. 6, 1945.

MORE LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF MARYLAND'S SEA COAST

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

Since this author's short history of the sea-coast of Maryland was published¹ some additional facts relating to this subject have come to hand:

The incident of the year 1698, when a sloop belonging to a certain John Redwood, of Philadelphia, was captured by a French privateer or pirate, as she came out of (old) Sinepuxent Inlet, is further clarified by entries in the Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania.² The pirate, whose distorted French name is given as "John Canoot," was at

¹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XL, p. 94-118 (June, 1945).

² *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 1, p. 507. The author is indebted to Mr. C. A. Weslager, President of the Archaeological Society of Delaware, for calling his attention to this item.

that time in command of another sloop, which was said to belong to "one William," of Providence, which he, "Canoot," had taken somewhere near the Bahama Islands. His was the crew which plundered the town of Lewes. Redwood's vessel was taken "off Cinapuxon Inlett, 30 miles below ye cape" (Cape Henlopen).

After this, the inhabitants of the seaboard plantations of Somerset County doubtless felt that they had enough of French piracy; but other alarms from the same source were due. Both in 1708 and in the summer of the following year landing parties from French privateers (several of them each year) attempted to go ashore on that coast, to the great dismay of the local people. What deterred the desperados in the first instances is not made clear. The last attempt was frustrated by a company of militiamen hastily assembled by Colonel William Whittington, who candidly reported to the Assembly that this warlike move was no more than a bluff, since his men did not have time to repair to the plantation of Colonel Francis Jenkins, where all the county ammunition was then stored, so that, had there been action, they could not have put up much of a fight. It further appears that Colonel Jenkins, the ranking military officer of Somerset County, was aged, ill, deaf and in his dotage. Accordingly, the Assembly authorized Whittington to act in his stead in case of a future crisis of the sort, and ordered that one half of the county's supply of powder and shot be kept at his house. The Assembly further empowered Colonel Whittington to purchase "a Gun about 500 weight," and to place it "where he shall think fit to make an alarm on Occasion." It took cognizance of the "great Terrour of the Inhabitants" of Somerset County, occasioned by the constant threat of pirates, which seems to have continued into the year 1712, if not later. In that year the Assembly voted to reimburse four men, who were then serving as a kind of coast-guard in the emergency, namely: two horsemen, who must have been employed in patrolling the seashore; one man who kept watch on the coast for suspicious-looking ships; and one who manned the "Alarm Gun."³

It seems reasonable to infer that this "Great Gun," as it was styled, was mounted hard by the sea, so that the gunner, the horse patrol and the lookout man might keep in touch with one another; and it is hardly to be doubted that it was fired on occasion, though some of the alarms may have proved to be false. The noise of this cannon, booming out over the desolate seaside sand-hills and marshes, must have startled the lone fisherman or trapper as he poled his skiff up some reedy creek within sound of the ocean; and the excitement, which these unexpected detonations caused among the bayside plantations of the Somerset County seaboard, must have been intense. It is a pity that we can find no contemporary account of such alarms and their consequences.

The scarcity of information about shipwrecks on our sea-coast in colonial times and the manner of dealing with them is somewhat diminished

³ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XXVII, p. 391; Vol. XXIX, pp. 28, 92, 147.

by the discovery of an early item. In the year 1695 a Mr. Edward Green, surveyor of Somerset County, who lived near the seaside and claimed to be the owner of the great part of the shore,⁴ obtained from the Council, in answer to his request, a commission, which gave him authority over all "drift" (i. e., stranded, as in *driftwood*) whales "and other great ffish," otherwise styled "Royal fish," all of which, of course, were the property of the crown. He had permission to try out oil from blubber, and was further empowered to put down all meddling and interference, which might come from "strangers, intruders and interlopers," as well as from the local inhabitants.⁵ Mr. Green was afraid that even the timber growing on his seaside properties might be stolen.⁶

In those distant days the nearness of the sea tended to breed a spirit of lawlessness. In the year 1696 the most useful navigable inlet of our coast (*old* Sinpeuxent Inlet)⁷ was the cause of some concern to the Council of Maryland on account of the illicit commerce which was reported to be making use of that thoroughfare. It was testified that pork and tobacco had been shipped out of the county via this inlet without benefit of entrance or clearance papers, and the consequent loss of revenue to the Province. The goods seem to have gone to Philadelphia, which is interesting, in view of other evidence of these early commercial connections.⁸ It was decided that, unless a special customs-officer should be appointed for the inlet, all ships entering there should be seized, together with their crews. Later the same year the Council appointed Mr. Thomas Poynter to be deputy naval officer at the inlet. The following year he petitioned the Council for a renewal of his commission, in response to which request the Council ordered Mr. John West, Naval Officer for Pocomoke District, and David Kennedy, Esq., Collector of his Majesty's Customs at that place, to consider the case and to do away with the office, if they should consider such a move to be in his Majesty's interest; but in no case to suffer any vessel to come in at the inlet, if no customs officer should be stationed there.⁹ Further light on this subject has not been vouchsafed to us.

⁴ This claim does not seem to have been based on fact. Green's heirs were taxed on a small part of "Winter Pasture," otherwise called "Winter Quarter" (Rent-Roll, Somerset County, Calvert Papers No. 885, f. 223); but, if Green ever had a claim to any other land on the Maryland seaboard, we have not found any record of it.

⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX, pp. 292, 297, 298, 300-303.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 292. In the spring of 1696 Mr. Green reported to the Council "the late casting up of two sprig [*sic*] Whales upon the sea side in Somerset County." (*Ibid.*, p. 421).

⁷ In this author's opinion, there is no room for doubt that Old Sinpeuxent Inlet was meant. Other inlets of Maryland's Atlantic seaboard were, about this time, regarded as navigable, however. (See *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XIX, p. 331).

⁸ We refer to the fact already noted that a sloop belonging to John Redwood, of Philadelphia, was taken by pirates as she came out of Sinpeuxent Inlet in the year 1698.

⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX, pp. 463, 487; XXIII, p. 279.

General Otho Holland Williams—Rev. John J. Tierney, S. S., of St. Charles College, Catonsville, has presented to the Society a typed copy of his unpublished dissertation "The Life and Letters of Otho Holland Williams, 1775-1783." Running to 119 pages, in addition to bibliography, this is the most extended study of Williams that has been made. Father Tierney has provided a general summary and estimate of the General, based on the extensive collection of Williams papers in the Society's library. The work will be a boon to students.

"*Wesorts*"—An account of the "Wesorts," the hybrid racial group which inhabits certain localities in Charles and Prince George's counties, Maryland, appeared in the *Journal of the Washington [D. C.] Academy of Sciences* for August 15, 1945. The author, William H. Gilbert, Jr., of the Library of Congress, considers the theories of origin of this mixed stock, the family names and physical features, economic and religious life, and education. He concludes that these people are in the pattern of "partially assimilated aborigines"—a type of minority not unknown today in many parts of the world.

Wyatt; Needles—Wanted surname of Ann ———? who married Thomas Wyatt (Wiatt) September 30, 1778. Thomas Wyatt was in Bridgeton, Caroline Co., Md., in 1776. Also, surname of Ann ———? and date of her marriage to William Needles (Neadels) before 1778. She was originally from Talbot Co., Md.

MRS. WM. D. RICHARDSON,
404 Brooks Ave., Magnolia, N. J.

Sessler—Thomas Sessler had a grant of land in Westmoreland Co., Pa., in 1773, while he was a resident of Frederick Co., Md. In 1776 he resided in that section of Frederick cut off into Washington Co. He removed to Botetourt Co., Va., after 1790 and died there intestate in 1805, leaving a widow *Nancy* and 7 children: Polly; John, b. 1782, married *Mary Bigler*; Jacob; Samuel; Thomas, Jr.; Mary m. Adam Steiger; and Nancy m. Isaac Haines. Information wanted concerning the parentage of *Thomas Sessler*. Where did he live before his residence in Maryland? What were the maiden names of his wife *Nancy* and the names of her parents?

MARY HOSS HEADMAN,
920 Walnut St., Knoxville, Tenn.

Strawbridge—Rev. Robert Strawbridge (sometimes written Strowbridge and Strobbridge), early preacher of Methodism, married Elizabeth Piper, came to Maryland from Ireland about 1760. They had six children, Robert; George; Theophilus; Jane; Betsey; and Jesse who married Elizabeth Crawford in Baltimore in 1807, removed to Wellsburg, Brooke Co., Va., (now West Virginia) about 1813 and died there. Would like to correspond with descendants having any historical facts or family traditions. Genealogy of Rev. Robert Strawbridge and descendants being compiled.

LAURA DEMPSTER (MRS. HENRY H.) GRONEMEYER,
1508 West 11th St., Wilmington, Del.

Wells—Would like to correspond with descendants of Thomas Wells and Elizabeth Howard, married at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Baltimore County, Md., Sept. 16, 1736. Their children were: Francis, married Ann Tevis; Joseph married first Susanna Tevis, and second Betsey Owings; John married Dinah Cromwell; James; Thomas, Jr., married Mary Major; Richard died young; and Ann, only daughter, who married Robert Crawford. Information particularly required as to sons John, James, and Thomas, Jr. John and Thomas believed to have gone to Fayette Co., and Washington Co., Pa. Genealogy of Thomas Wells being compiled.

LAURA DEMPSTER (MRS. HENRY H.) GRONEMEYER,
1508 West 11th St., Wilmington, Del.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

FLETCHER M. GREEN, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, is the editor of the recent book, *I Rode with Stonewall*, by the late Major Henry Kyd Douglas of Maryland. He has been a contributor to many historical magazines and other publications. ☆ Native of Charles County, of which she writes, ETHEL ROBY (MRS. LEWIS M.) HAYDEN of Baltimore, has contributed many articles on historical topics to the periodical press. ☆ LOUIS DOW SCISCO has been for many years a student and writer on local history topics relating to Maryland. He served as associate editor of Volumes LIII, LIV, LVII and LX of the *Archives of Maryland*. ☆ Co-author with Edith R. Bevan of "*The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (1941), ROSAMOND RANDALL (MRS. FRANCIS F.) BEIRNE is a member of the Council of the Society. ☆ Captain CHARLES B. CLARK, home after several years' absence in the Pacific, has returned to his post on the staff of the History Department of West Georgia College. He retains the status of a reserve officer in the Marine Corps.

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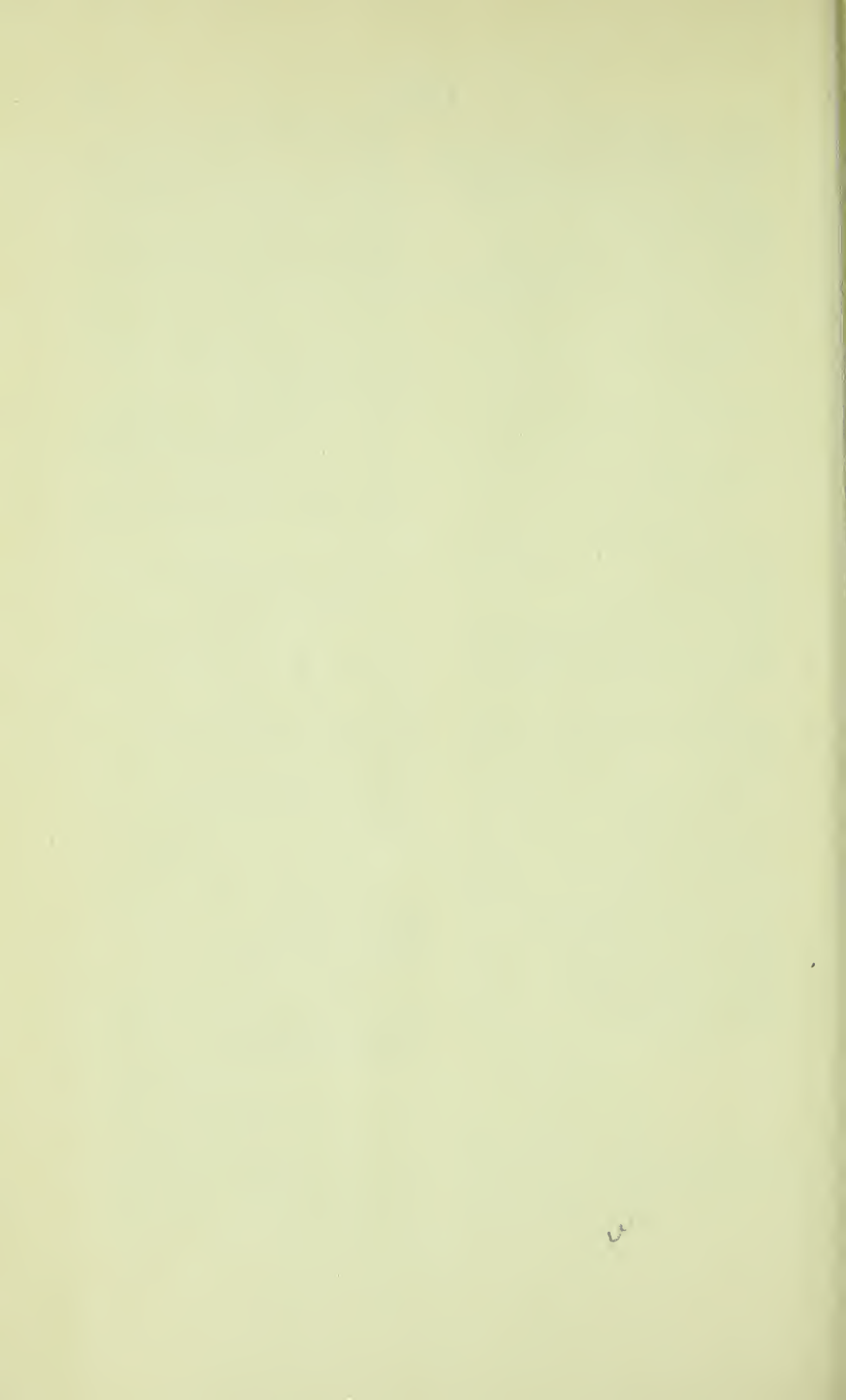
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